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A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP

Volume One

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL
with the collaboration of
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Attitudes of French and English Canadians Toward Industrial Leadership:

**A cross-cultural comparison of management personnel in
large industrial organizations and small
business firms and of students
in schools of business**

by

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Volume One

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Chapter I

Introduction

During the past few years there has been considerable discussion and debate about the conflicts, misunderstandings and problems of communication between Canada's two largest ethnic groups, French Canadians and English Canadians. Journalists, political and social scientists, social commentators and politicians have attempted to define and analyze the problem, and to provide solutions to the difficulties generated by the situation in which two diverse ethnic groups, the one outnumbered by the other nationally, strive to make their separate voices heard.

Many important and fundamental issues have been explored. A review of writings relevant to these issues indicates that some would prefer to define the problem primarily in terms of de facto differences in attitude and outlook between the two groups with the implication that recognition and mutual understanding of these differences will lead to a "rapprochement."

Others tend to define the problem generically, in terms of fundamental divergences in the social mores of the two cultures. Individual values are seen as shaped by, and hence reflect, religious, educational and legal institutions in society. Improved relations between the two cultural groups are viewed as dependent upon fundamental changes in the attitudes generated by these institutions. Still other trends of analysis have emphasized the role of nationalism in French Canada, and have implied that the major divergence of French Canadian mores from those of the rest of North America is due in large

part to the "state-of-siege mentality" among this ethnic group, a state which must be changed now.

Discussion and debate such as this have been useful and enlightening, and will undoubtedly continue to be of value in the future. For the professional researcher, however, a primary value of such analyses and reflections has been to highlight the need for objective empirical research on a large scale, and just as important, to suggest which parameters he should sort out, analyse and interpret. It was in response to this need that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism established a committee to support and encourage the undertaking of research projects of which this is one.

The chief value of empirical research is to lend some objectivity and system to subjective and emotionally-charged issues. It might be well to point out that the authors of this report are well aware that the researcher can never completely disengage his biases nor escape subjectivity, particularly when he is a member of one or the other ethnic group, and that empirically-derived data are not invariably the most definitive, since they can be inadvertently distorted by the research design itself or by selective interpretations. To a considerable extent, however, he can and should subjugate his private opinions to systematic research findings.

It was the directors' sensitivity to these possible pitfalls of inter-cultural research which prompted them to establish a joint,

bicultural team to conduct this project. The team consisted of four members from two major Canadian universities, the University of Montreal and Mc Gill University. Two of the members were French Canadian, one was a Canadian citizen of Franco-American descent and one an English Canadian in ethnic origin¹.

Cross-cultural research, and in fact, any research, must be based upon assumptions. In the light of the discussion outlined above, it is the opinion of this research team that the broad assumptions upon which studies of bilingualism and biculturalism should be based are:

- (1) significant and profound differences do exist in the values, attitudes and outlooks of the two ethnic groups,
- (2) these differences are not likely to be based primarily on language differences, and
- (3) the differences manifest themselves in a broad array of situations in which French and English Canadians encounter and interact with each other.

The major task then is to sort out what these differences are, how large they are, and in what areas or domains they are most significant. Of interest also is the identification of those areas or domains where there are similarities and a "common ground" in terms of attitudes and values -- areas in which the two groups may find a starting point in the pursuit of solutions to the problems which they mutually encounter.

¹ A fifth member, a French Canadian, was involved in the initial stages of the project, but resigned due to illness.

It was with these assumptions and considerations in mind that this study was undertaken.

Of the many situations in which French and English Canadians interact with one another, a most crucial one, in our opinion, is to be found in the industrial setting. It is critical for several reasons. First, it is the primary meeting ground for the two groups, the place wherein they interact on a day-to-day basis. Secondly, the success of these day-to-day transactions have a direct and profound effect on the economic security and well-being of all Canadians, and thirdly, there is no easily acceptable or simple way in which the two groups can reduce the proportions of the problem by sealing themselves off from each other and "going their separate ways" by creating separate systems, or by ignoring the problem.

The part or segment of the industrial domain in which the problem is, in our opinion, most salient and most urgent is in the management and supervisory sector. Indeed it is among the leaders at all levels of organizations where difficulties and misunderstandings must be revealed and confronted. There are at least five important reasons why the "eye of the storm" lies among this relatively small group of the total industrial work force. First, management personnel have, by definition, primary responsibility for "making the system work". Interpersonal and intergroup conflict, deflection of aims and strongly divergent perceptions among leaders have a profound effect on the climate within which individuals work and can lead to serious repercussions on the economy as a whole, especially in a bicultural

tural economy.

Secondly, it is among the management group where over-representation and under-representation of English Canadians and French Canadians respectively are most clearly apparent, and this is true even in the home province of French Canadians. Hence the possibilities for conflict and disruption are perhaps higher in industry than in other realms, such as in the professions or within educational institutions, where the two groups are not called upon to work as closely together.

Thirdly, and perhaps most important, the rapidly-accelerated technological changes that characterize our industrial system, mainly automation and computerization, are integrating diverse functions, combining different activities and "de-departmentalizing" large and even medium-sized business enterprises. Consequently, the demand now is for ever-closer coordination of efforts and a growing intolerance for independence, isolation and mistrust or misunderstanding of the motives and activities of one group for another within industrial enterprises.

Fourthly, French Canadians are no longer indifferent to industrial activity. Indeed, they are becoming more and more centrally involved in this increasingly integrated industrial system and are, within their own province, developing an advanced industrial society. On this basis alone, the problems of sharing the management process with their English Canadian colleagues could become more and more abrasive.

Finally, while these technological, social and economic forces have been operative for some time and are bringing the problems of biculturalism "to a head" very rapidly, one is struck by the dearth of research directed specifically toward management and supervision in French and English Canada. Consequently, those in government, industry and elsewhere whose task it is to define the dimensions of the problem so that remedial action can be taken, are hampered by a poorly-developed body of systematic knowledge.

Management groups, composed of both English Canadian and French Canadian members have thus been the predominant focus of this study. The broad framework of the study has been the thinking, viewpoints and values of English and French Canadians holding leadership positions in large and therefore influential enterprises. More specifically, research has been directed toward three major realms within this broad frame of reference, namely: (1) managers' and supervisors' attitudes toward business goals, (2) their attitudes toward managing people, with particular reference to leadership styles, (3) and their work motivations.

First, the concern of the research has been the reactions to and identification with, the Goals or Objectives of industrial enterprises on the part of English Canadian, in contrast to French Canadian management personnel. This aspect of leadership was viewed as important because it is clearly evident that any industrial organization demands and must have for its survival and progress, at least nominal (though perhaps not complete and unqualified) acceptance of its goals by all members within it. It is

difficult to visualize a leader in an industrial organization who could perform his function successfully when his attitude toward that organization's objectives is skeptical or indifferent. One would not need to stretch the imagination to conclude that if a senior manager of marketing of a large and expanding enterprise felt that the goal of profits or of expansion and growth were really not as important as non-economic goals, the adjustment of that manager to life within the organization would be rendered difficult, and indeed, the efforts of marketing personnel within his department would be lessened.

When dealing with a bicultural milieu, there is another crucial consideration. Should members of one ethnic group accept and assimilate the goals of the organization to a significantly greater extent than members of another ethnic group, to that extent, strains are introduced which could affect the relationship between these groups throughout the organization, and impede its functioning and progress.

One repercussion which could result from this state of affairs would be the development of perceptions of discrimination on the part of the French Canadians, due to the natural tendency on the part of a preponderant English Canadian top management group to consider for promotion those who accept and pursue their (top managements') own goals, rather than to consider those who think differently. The deflection of time and effort from the production of goods and services to the resolution of the resulting discrimination and competition between the French and English Canadian managers and supervisors could well become a profound

problem in those enterprises wherein the two groups interact.

Conversely, if both groups accepted the legitimacy of these goals and assimilated them in roughly equal degree into their respective value systems, the enterprise would benefit, however indirectly, and the group members would likely feel more comfortable, more at ease with one another, and more useful members of that enterprise.

Another important facet of this problem which was felt to merit some investigation was the degree to which the individual's personal values conflicted with the goals of the enterprise. It seemed to the researchers that the degree of adjustment of each group to the industrial milieu would also be reflected by the degree with which primary goals of industrial enterprises interfered with, prevented or hindered achievement of such crucial aims as familial harmony and stability, personal development or self-actualization, and the fulfillment of one's role as a member of a community and society.

Research has thus been directed toward two aspects of attitudes toward organizational goals -- the relative evaluation of a set of these goals, and the degree with which conflict was perceived to exist between organizational goals and the goals and values of (1) family life and activity, (2) individual freedom and welfare, and (3) society -- its enhancement and welfare. In addition, some limited attention was given to two other attitude realms associated with, but not directly concerned with conflict per se. These were: (1) attitude toward personal gain,

with particular reference to the attitudes of both groups toward those who seek wealth and personal profit in their career lives, and (2) the attitude of French Canadians toward their role in large industrial organizations, as members of the French Canadian culture.

These latter two attitude dimensions were considered of some importance because, in the first case, if a conflict was perceived to exist between the individual and the economic goals of industrial organization, it was the view of the researchers that this conflict may stem in part from the negative image of money held by French Canadians¹. In the second case, it was considered of interest to know whether French Canadians experience a general feeling of alienation in an English Canadian milieu. It is reasonable to believe that members of such a minority group, functioning in organizations whose goals are formulated by members of another ethnic group, would inevitably experience a loss of cultural identity.

Quite limited attention was afforded the assessment of these two attitudes because of limitations imposed by research time and funds on the investigation of less central issues such as these, and also because of the rather touchy nature of these attitudes. Any plan to thoroughly investigate them, especially the latter, might well have caused the leaders of many organizations to decline from cooperating in the conduct of the study.

¹ One indication of the manifestation of this image can be seen in a speech by Cardinal Leger at the 50th anniversary of l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, in which he assured the students that it was not sinful to make money.

Secondly, research was focused upon the Management of people with specific reference to leadership styles. Since the basic reason for the existence of any organization is to achieve a goal or set of goals, and in fact, the notion of goal achievement is invariably a part of any definition of organization, one would expect some limit to the amount of disagreement between the two ethnic groups in their acceptance and evaluation of them. Certainly, enormous disparity with respect to this vital aspect of organizational functioning would create such insurmountable barriers to communication between the two groups that the existence of the organization would be seriously threatened. In addition, one would expect that a person, whose reaction to the goals of any organization was entirely negative, would not seriously consider joining that organization. In short, disparity would be minimized by the recruitment process in an enterprise.

One would, however, predict a greater possibility of wide disparity in the means of achieving these goals, specifically, in the management of the human resources of an enterprise. Thus, while the pursuit of profit would be an almost immutable "given" for any industrial enterprise, broad methods of organization, coordination and direction of organization members could vary more widely, and within limits, variations in the ways of managing could "go unnoticed" by organization leaders.

Yet it is through the effective use of these methods and ways of managing that the goals of the organization are achieved, especially in the medium and long run. Of late, organizations have increasingly

realized the value of defining the total functioning of an organization in terms of means-ends linkages throughout the hierarchy, and the fact that the major function of managers is "to translate" goals into means.

It was predicted that major differences between the two ethnic groups, if these differences existed, would be revealed in their respective attitudes toward the management function. The management of people was, therefore, considered to be the central issue to be studied in this research project.

Here, the researchers assessed the reactions of both groups to definitions of good and poor management practices, and attempted to find research answers to the question: "In what way do the two ethnic groups differ in their conception of the proper and effective management of people in an enterprise?".

Specifically in this study, research has been directed toward contrasts and comparisons between French Canadian and English Canadian management and supervisory personnel in their attitude toward several aspects or dimensions of leadership practices:

(1) Status Needs:

The degree to which the individual uses and protects the authority and prestige of his management role in dealing with subordinates.

(2) Interpersonal Premises:

The manager's attitude toward the motives or personal characteristics of other people in the workplace.

(3) Task Orientation:

The degree to which task achievement of performance in the work setting is a dominant and primary consideration on the part of the manager in his direction of subordinate's efforts.

(4) Consideration of Others:

The degree to which the manager is oriented toward and concerned with the general feelings, needs and well-being of people in the workplace.

(5) Participation in Decision-Making:

The degree to which the manager values or recognizes the importance of the involvement of subordinates in decision-making.

(6) Supervisory Control:

The degree to which the manager believes in the need for close control of subordinates in the workplace to meet established standards of performance.

Finally, research has also been directed toward Motivation -- specifically, the patterns of work-related motives of both ethnic groups and the degree to which these groups differ, or are similar, in the work motives they bring to, and express in, the workplace.

It was considered important to include motivation in a study of industrial leadership because of the fact that the individual's motives shape and direct his behavior in the workplace, determining to

a large extent the goals he seeks there, the success he experiences, and the degree to which he commits himself to those tasks assigned him. The shape and structure of an individual's pattern of motives and particularly, the "fit" of the manager's motives to the requirements and demands of the organization, was considered to have a bearing upon the way in which he performs his managerial role and his general effectiveness in performing it.

Thus, a manager who constantly values personal needs of security above all other needs within a profit-making organization, which would normally expect from its members a more entrepreneurial, risk-taking approach to organizational decisions, could find himself so seriously out of step with his colleagues, leaders and subordinates that his effectiveness in coordinating with them could be negated. Conversely, a manager whose needs center upon personal progress and achievement, money and self-actualization within a "fast-moving" and competitive organization would likely function more adequately and gain considerable satisfaction from his accomplishments.

In addition, the degree of personal involvement the manager would have in his work as a result of this "blending" of his needs with the demands of the organization, would likely be contagious, and inspire others around him. Thus, the manager's adjustment to the organization and its mode of functioning, and the effectiveness with which he is able to develop and sustain the willing efforts of others depends, at least in

part, upon the set of personal needs he brings to that organization. In this part of the project, attention was directed toward the relative preferences of managers for a number of important incentives in the workplace, the nature of which will be described in a later section of this report.

What has been outlined and discussed thus far in this introduction covers the three major dimensions of our study of Industrial Leadership. Some additional secondary data were obtained, however, some of which have been reported as they have had a relevant bearing upon the analysis of the above dimensions, and some of which were beyond the scope of this report. In the first case, for example, an attempt was made to assess (1) the individual's degree of bi-culturalism as indicated by the degree of his exposure to the other language, mass media, and social groups, and (2) the individual's general level of job satisfaction. This attitude was considered of some interest because of the opinion on the part of many that French Canadians are, ipso facto, less satisfied in an industrial work setting, particularly one predominantly Anglo-Saxon in ownership and management.

In the second case, it was the view of the researchers, a view shared by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism research committee, that this project offered a unique opportunity to acquire much data in many large and important Canadian corporations. Consequently, somewhat more data were collected than strictly required by the Commission, so that significant side issues could be explored at a later date by the

research team as an addition to the total body of knowledge on bilingualism and biculturalism. Some data were thus collected using, for example, a rather specialized device for assessing the broad value orientation people held toward concepts such as "business" and "profit" (the Semantic Differential Technique), as well as a special "triad" question format for the assessment of attitudes.

In summary, the major goal and mission of this research study had been to quantify, analyze and interpret major patterns of leadership of the two ethnic groups, French Canadian and English Canadian, rather than to deal with specific details of differences and similarities between the two groups. The study was designed to compare and contrast the attitudes of members of these two ethnic groups toward leadership in industry, and not to study their respective attitudes toward each other on these matters. This report deals with three major dimensions or aspects of attitudes toward life and activities in industrial organizations, and organization members' attitudes toward them; the conceptions and practices related to the leader's role in the organization; and the work-related motives which people hold and express in the workplace.

This study, though by far the major concern of the research team, was not the only one conducted. Two parallel but somewhat independent studies were included in the over-all project, and appear under separate chapters. These include a study of the attitudes of French

Canadian and English Canadian management personnel in small business in the Province of Quebec, and a study of the attitudes of business and commerce students in both French Canadian and English Canadian educational institutions in Canada. In both of these studies, research has been directed toward precisely the same attitude dimensions that were studied in large industrial organizations and which are analyzed and discussed in this report. In short, the focus in both of these appended studies had again been upon contrasts between the two ethnic groups, and the concern has been with the Goals, Management, and Motivation dimensions in industry.

With respect to the small business study it was felt that these settings, which have much smaller capital, fewer employees and a basically simpler organization structure, more faithfully represent the total of French Canadian business. For this reason, it was the opinion of the research directors that they should be included in any major study of the attitudes of managers and supervisors. The entrepreneurial attitudes of the French Canadian management group, in contrast to those of their English Canadian counterparts would, it was felt, be found in its clearest and most developed form in smaller business concerns than in large corporations. The primary question for the researchers was whether patterns of difference in attitudes, if they existed, would hold up when the two ethnic groups worked to a large extent apart as they do in small business which in Quebec are usually run and managed by either one ethnic group or the other, rather than together

in one company as is predominantly the case in large corporations.

Two main reasons account for the concern of the researchers for a study of the attitudes of business students in both cultures. First, it was strongly felt that the attitudes of these groups, particularly differences in attitude between members of the two groups, would have considerable bearing on future developments in the conduct of Canadian business because members of both groups will, in all likelihood, constitute tomorrow's business elite. Secondly, it was considered of importance to contrast the attitudes and values of these groups of young, and as yet inexperienced candidates for business, with those among their cultural "seniors" -- those who are older and who already hold responsible positions in business and industry. This part of the total project was designed to provide answers to questions of "intergenerational" similarities and differences in the way French Canadians and English Canadians are likely to adapt to business organizations and the type of leadership they will, in time, provide.

The remaining chapters of this report are outlined below:

(1) Chapter II, "Sampling", deals with an outline of the procedures used in selecting the industrial organizations as well as the selection of management groups within these organizations. The final chosen sample of companies and types of management groups within them are then described.

(2) Chapter III, "General Procedure", describes in detail the selection and development of the assessment technique utilized, outlines the methods used in conducting the research survey in the field as well as data-gathering strategies considered and employed in the study, and describes the general directions taken in the collection and computation of the data.

(3) Chapter IV, "Organizational Goals", discusses the rationale for the general hypotheses set forth with respect to this dimension. The development and nature of the questionnaires used are then described and the method of analysis is outlined followed by a presentation and interpretation of the results. The chapter is concluded with a summary of the main trends.

(4) Chapter V, "The Management of People", presents a model for an analysis of the leadership process in organizations. The attitude scales and the method of analysis employed are then described, followed by the presentation and interpretation of research results. These results are interpreted within the framework of the leadership model, and the chapter is concluded with a summary of the major findings.

(5) Chapter VI, "Work Motivation", presents a Needs System model for analyzing the work motives of people in organizations. The questionnaire format and method of analysis is then described. This is followed by the presentation and interpretation of research results in the light of the model. A summary of the general trend of results concludes the chapter.

(6) Chapter VII, "The Effects of Human Relations Training and Religious Affiliation on Management Attitudes", briefly describes the rationale for this assessment. This is followed by a presentation of the method of analysis, the research results and an interpretation of these results.

(7) Chapter VIII, "The Effects of Biculturalism on Management Attitudes and the Degree of Job Satisfaction of French Canadian and English Canadian Managers", presents the rationale for each of these assessments. After describing the method of analysis, the research results are presented and interpreted.

(8) Chapter IX, "Cultural Differences in Leadership among French and English Canadian Managers of Small Business Organizations", describes the sample of business organizations selected as well as the management group within these organizations and outlines the method used in conducting the survey in the field. After presenting and interpreting the results, the chapter is concluded by a summary of research trends.

(9) Chapter X, "Cultural Differences in Leadership among French and English Canadian Students Enrolled in Schools of Business", describes the sample of business schools selected as well as the student groups within these schools and outlines the methods used in conducting the survey in the field. After presenting and interpreting the results, the chapter is concluded by a summary of general research trends.

Chapter II

The Selection of the Sample

Sampling Considerations

Four very broad questions were considered with respect to the selection of the research sample. First, and obviously, the total size of the sample of French Canadian and English Canadian managers and supervisors was a primary consideration. The second was the number of companies to be used within which these individuals held positions. Thirdly, the comprehensiveness of coverage of the management force within each company was considered, including which administrative levels were to be selected as well as the degree of representation of each level. Fourthly, the problem of geographical and functional representation of the sample of companies was a pressing one, because of the rather marked concentration of Canadian industry in one geographical area (Ontario and Quebec), and also because of the almost infinite array of functions represented in Canadian industry, such as primary, secondary and tertiary industry, manufacturing and service, different types of product lines and so on. Prior to the selection of specific companies to be selected for the survey, the following general decisions were made with respect to these four basic issues:

(1) A sample of companies completely representative of Canadian industries as a whole was inconceivable due to many factors such as:

- (a) the prohibitive cost in time and money of such a plan,
- (b) the uneven concentration of French Canadians in industries, and
- (c) the inevitable refusals of many companies to cooperate.

Another alternative extreme solution was considered, but also abandoned as unwise. This was the possibility of focusing entirely on

one organization, and conducting a critical case study in depth. Since very little research of the present type has been done in the past, it was considered wiser to achieve broad rather than narrow coverage of attitude data, to identify those areas where attitude differences would be found to exist in many organizations rather than to risk the possibility of identifying differences peculiar to one particular type of company. Highly focused studies using one organization are always subject to the criticism of non-representativeness, and the selection of such an organization is generally an exceedingly difficult and risky venture.

An additional alternative was considered: this was the possibility of selecting a few managers from each of a very large number of companies, thus attempting to better represent the total French Canadian and English Canadian management force in Canada. However, several difficult problems would have been encountered in the use of this strategy. First, the delineation of the population from which a sample could have been drawn would have been virtually impossible and would, in fact, have been a research study in itself. Even if it were possible, it would have been enormously time-consuming and costly. Secondly, the researchers were concerned about controlling the important factor of "management climate" of an organization, and determining whether differences in attitude between the two ethnic groups were consistent across the different climates which characterize industrial organizations. Thirdly, the researchers were convinced that a great number of leaders of companies would have refused to cooperate had they been approached with a request for only a few managers to include in the survey. A major "selling point" of the

survey was known to be the President's anticipation of a feedback of research results which would inform him of the management thinking in his organization. For these reasons, this alternative was, therefore, rejected as well.

It was decided then to concentrate research efforts on a few rather than many companies, whose management force consisted of both English and French Canadians, but to select only those companies representing large and important sectors of the industrial system in terms of the total work force employed. In addition, however, it was decided to select one company which for all practical purposes could be considered to be of French Canadian ownership and management and one which was almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon in ownership and management. This was done so that a check could be made on the possibility that those French Canadians who held management positions in an English Canadian enterprise might not truly be representative of the French Canadian culture. It could be argued that French Canadians working for any length of time in an English Canadian company would be assimilated in terms of their motives and attitudes and would therefore be more "anglicized". Hence, a study of differences and similarities in attitudes between them would be distorted by the special effects of an English Canadian industrial environment. It could also be argued that those French Canadians who chose to join an English Canadian enterprise in the first place would be a special, therefore non-representative group, in the sense that they had already been partially integrated into the English Canadian culture or at least, would feel more congenial toward it. If such were the case, differences

in attitudes between the two groups would not represent true cultural differences but, again, only the effects of a special environment. Consequently, in those instances where little or no differences in attitude existed between the two ethnic groups in an English Canadian company, it was important to determine whether the same condition would tend to exist when French Canadian managers in an essentially French Canadian company were compared with English Canadian managers in an essentially English Canadian company. The scarcity of rather large French Canadian companies was such that only one accepted participation in the study. This company was matched with an equivalent English Canadian company.

(2) The choice of the number of companies to be represented was determined mainly by time factors and financial resources available to the researchers. In brief, it was decided to concentrate on a few companies (as mentioned above), yet as many as these resources would allow, that is, the maximum number of companies which could be handled and which would cooperate in the study. In addition, it was decided to select only those companies which were large in size or importance and significance to the Canadian industrial system.

(3) With regard to intra-organization sampling, it was considered advisable to include all, rather than one or two managerial levels within each organization to be selected, in order to fully tap the managerial climate in each organization. It was also decided to draw samples which would be large enough at each organizational level to represent adequately the trend of attitude and opinion at each level. That

is, the decision was made to include all organizational levels, but to draw large samples of individuals from each level rather than include all managerial personnel -- a strategy which would have been prohibitively expensive and time-consuming.

(4) With respect to geographical and functional representation, the decision was made first to select only those corporations whose activities were spread out as widely as possible geographically, that is those which operated regional branches. This was done so that possible variations in attitude due to the effects of location and geography would be accounted for. Thus, French Canadian management personnel stationed in, say, Ontario and New Brunswick might have a different orientation toward work matters than the same group in Quebec, hence research results might be influenced by such non-ethnic factors.

Secondly, the decision was made to divide the total sample of companies into two groupings with regard to functions, the one being manufacturing, the other being service. This was deemed the most advisable division because it was felt that the service-type organization, in which there is less emphasis on competition and profit-seeking, and is traditionally viewed as having a more bureaucratic type of administration, would attract and hold people whose conception of leadership could conceivably differ from those in a manufacturing organization where competition and profit-seeking tend to be emphasized to a greater degree.

Selection of Organizations

Because of the commitment to hold in strict confidence the identity of every organization which cooperated in the study, information concerning the selection of the sample of organizations and administrative levels within these organizations, as well as individuals within these levels, must be presented here in a general enough way to preserve anonymity. However, every possible attempt has been made to present enough detail to provide the reader as meaningful as possible a description of the sample.

For reasons mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was obviously not possible, nor was it considered desirable, to select a statistically representative sample of the total population of French and English Canadian managers in Canadian industry. As a result, it would not be possible to infer from a research finding of this study, indicating for example that 70% of French Canadian managers valued a certain management practice while only 30% of English Canadian managers did, that this percentage difference represented with complete accuracy the differences in attitudes of all French Canadian and English Canadian managers in Canada or even in a single industry. The aim of the study was to identify major trends of differences in attitudes between the two major cultural groups of Canada, rather than to determine the exact magnitude of these differences between them.

Nevertheless, every effort was made to select companies which

would represent a wide range of organizations in terms of type of industry and total number of employees in Canada's work force. In order to select as representative as possible a sample of the Canadian work force, the 1961 Census of Canada¹(Volume 3, Part12) was consulted, and an examination was made of the proportion of salaried employees in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary industry in Quebec, Ontario and in Canada as a whole. The proportions of employees in these two provinces were of primary interest because of the fact that companies containing management forces which combined French Canadian and English Canadian members are almost exclusively located in these two provinces.

Table 1 shows this distribution according to Primary, Secondary and Tertiary divisions, by number and percentage of the total work force, and of course, by type of industry. On the extreme right-hand column of page 1 of this table, it can be seen that Primary industry includes only 6.49% of the total salaried work force in Canada, while columns 2 and 4 show only 5.77% and 4.92% respectively for Quebec and Ontario. On the next page it can be seen that 31.99%, 37.29% and 36.48% of salaried employees are employed in Secondary industry in Canada, Quebec and Ontario respectively, indicating much larger and more significant proportions than in the Primary division. Still further, page 4 of the same table shows that 61.52%, 56.94% and 58.60% of the total force of salaried employees in Canada and in these two provinces respectively, are employed in Tertiary industry.

On the basis of these data, it was decided to select companies from the Secondary and Tertiary divisions only, due to the very small

¹ Catalogues 94-523 and 94-525, Bulletins 3.2-6 and 3.2-8.

representation of the total work force in the Primary division, and also because the limitations imposed by cost and time made travel to widely dispersed locations unfeasible within the Primary industry division. For example, it was considered too costly for the amount of data which could be derived to attempt to select companies from such Primary industries as Mining because of the very small representation, or from Forestry because of the extremely dispersed locations of the operations of these companies, or certainly from Agriculture which, of course, includes few if any companies as such. In contrast, Secondary and Tertiary industries represent, as stated, large proportions of the total work force, and they include large organizations which could meet our requirements in terms of cost and ethnic considerations.

With respect to the Secondary industry, it can be seen on pages 2 and 3 of the table that this division includes two basic categories of industry: Manufacturing industries, which represent a very large number of different types, and the Construction industry which is a much smaller category. It was originally intended to draw the majority of companies from the Manufacturing industry category of the Secondary division, since Manufacturing contained the largest proportion of the work force employed in Secondary Industry, and to select one company from the smaller Construction category. However, since the research team was unable to enlist the participation of a construction company, the Secondary industry corporations that did take part in the survey were all from Manufacturing.

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry.

	QUEBEC		ONTARIO		CANADA	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
All industries.....	1,502,558	100	2,058,363	100	5,366,977	100
SECTION A: Primary Industry	86,662	5.77	101,274	4.92	348,400	6.49
Agriculture.....	18,406	1.22	41,473	2.01	116,701	2.17
Forestry.....	41,114	2.73	16,693	0.81	100,798	1.88
Fishing and trapping.....	1,495	0.10	938	0.05	10,805	0.20
Mines.....	25,647	1.71	42,170	2.05	120,096	2.24
Metal mines.....	15,721	1.05	36,556	1.78	68,754	1.28
Mineral fuels.....	76	0.005	527	0.03	19,615	0.37
Non-metal mines, except coal mines.....	6,674	0.44	1,205	0.06	11,401	0.21
Quarries and sand pits.....	2,056	0.14	2,207	0.11	5,767	0.10
Services incidental to mining.....	1,120	0.07	1,575	0.08	14,559	0.27

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario, and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees
in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry. (continued)

	<u>QUEBEC</u>		<u>ONTARIO</u>		<u>CANADA</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>SECTION B: Secondary Industry</u>						
Manufacturing industries.....	560,388	37.29	750,833	36.48	1,717,199	31.99
Food and beverage industries.....	450,852	30.01	627,060	30.46	1,359,918	25.33
Tobacco products industries.....	55,398	3.69	81,392	3.95	209,863	3.91
Rubber industries.....	6,834	0.45	1,910	0.09	8,798	0.16
Leather industries.....	5,572	0.37	12,699	0.62	18,754	0.35
Textile industries.....	16,861	1.12	14,111	0.69	32,370	0.60
Knitting mills.....	35,939	2.39	22,277	1.08	61,223	1.14
Clothing industries.....	9,838	0.65	7,835	0.38	19,317	0.36
Wood industries.....	54,078	3.64	22,051	1.07	86,118	1.60
Furniture and fixture industries.....	20,820	1.39	18,754	0.91	92,888	1.73
Paper and allied industries.....	12,243	0.82	14,580	0.71	31,832	0.59
Printing, publishing and allied industries.....	37,802	2.52	37,541	1.82	101,225	1.89
	20,382	1.36	40,984	1.99	80,498	1.50

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario, and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees
in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry. (continued)

	<u>QUEBEC</u>		<u>ONTARIO</u>		<u>CANADA</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Manufacturing industries- cont'd.						
Primary metal industries	24,057	1.60	49,839	2.42	89,758	1.67
Metal fabricating industries.....	25,556	1.70	56,139	2.73	99,052	1.85
Machinery industries.....	8,707	0.58	36,081	1.75	49,082	0.91
Transportation equipment industries.....	32,613	2.17	64,871	3.15	116,902	2.18
Electrical products industries.....	26,206	1.74	54,116	2.63	84,378	1.57
Non-metallic mineral products industries.....	14,318	0.95	21,597	1.05	45,458	0.85
Petroleum and coal products industries.....	4,885	0.33	5,066	0.25	16,897	0.31
Chemical and chemical products industries.....	24,833	1.65	35,159	1.71	67,953	1.27
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.....	13,299	0.89	30,113	1.46	47,552	0.89
Construction industry.....	109,536	7.29	123,773	6.01	357,281	6.66
General contractors.....	57,770	3.84	68,964	3.35	204,637	3.82
Special trade contractors	51,766	3.45	54,809	2.66	152,644	2.84

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario, and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry. (continued)

	QUEBEC		ONTARIO		CANADA	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
SECTION C: Tertiary Industry	855,508	56.94	1,206,256	58.60	3,301,378	61.52
Transportation, communication and other utilities.....	150,695	10.03	184,545	8.97	567,575	10.58
Transportation.....	97,474	6.49	106,162	5.16	351,018	6.54
Storage.....	1,361	0.09	3,503	0.17	17,200	0.32
Communication.....	34,469	2.29	45,884	2.23	129,240	2.41
Electric power, gas and water utilities.....	17,391	1.16	28,996	1.41	70,117	1.31
Trade.....	196,508	13.08	306,471	14.89	809,431	15.08
Wholesale trade.....	61,115	4.07	91,856	4.46	259,537	4.84
Retail trade.....	135,393	9.01	214,615	10.43	549,894	10.24
Finance, insurance and real estate.....	57,344	3.82	91,266	4.43	211,168	3.94
Financial institutions.....	30,102	2.00	44,839	2.18	108,803	2.03
Insurance and real estate industries.....	27,242	1.82	46,427	2.26	102,365	1.91

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario, and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry. (continued)

	<u>QUEBEC</u>		<u>ONTARIO</u>		<u>CANADA</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Community, business and personal service industries	303,497 -----	20.20 -----	394,650 -----	19.17 -----	1,082,172 -----	20.15 -----
Education and related services.....	78,009	5.19	86,807	4.22	260,950	4.86
Health and welfare services.....	68,461	4.56	103,961	5.05	282,170	5.26
Religious organizations..	23,330	1.55	14,364	0.70	52,314	0.97
Motion picture and recreational services..	8,583	0.57	14,586	0.71	34,080	0.63
Services to business management.....	18,459	1.23	34,583	1.68	73,847	1.38
Personal services.....	95,886	6.38	121,080	5.88	332,393	6.19
Miscellaneous services...	10,769	0.72	19,269	0.94	46,418	0.86
Public administration and defence.....	99,194 -----	6.60 -----	181,263 -----	8.81 -----	482,925 -----	9.00 -----
Federal administration...	43,962	2.92	111,553	5.42	284,953	5.31
Provincial administration.....	20,971	1.40	20,402	0.99	68,761	1.28

Table 2.1 - Labour Force in Quebec, Ontario, and Canada Showing Numbers and Percentages of Employees
in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Industry. - concluded

	<u>QUEBEC</u>		<u>ONTARIO</u>		<u>CANADA</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Local administration.....	33,747	2.25	48,569	2.36	123,729	2.31
Other government offices	514	0.03	739	0.04	5,482	0.10
Industry unspecified or undefined.....	48,270	3.21	48,061	2.33	148,107	2.76

Table 1 reveals that there are 20 industries represented within the Manufacturing category. It would have been unrealistic to even attempt to represent each one in our study. Consequently, all industries which represented very small proportions of the total work force (less than 1.25%) were excluded from consideration.

In addition, three larger ones were dropped: the Electrical Products category within which the large companies were American-owned, and two types of industry which included an insufficient number of top management people within any one company, namely the Clothing industry and the Transportation Equipment industry.

Table 2 shows the categories of Secondary industry within which attempts were then made to select companies after having eliminated those types of industry mentioned in the above paragraph. It was unfortunately not possible to represent all of the categories of industry listed in Table 2. The Food and Beverage classification was inaccessible because no large company would cooperate in the study. It was replaced by the Tobacco industry which, though previously eliminated from consideration because of the small proportion of the total work force it represented, included one company which offered to give full cooperation in the study. The Chemical industry and Textiles were also dropped because the most appropriate companies selected from each industry at first offered co-operation, then provided the researchers access to only a very limited group of managers. Insufficient time remained to replace these companies with others. The Printing industry was also eliminated because the limited

Table 2.2 - Listing of Categories of Secondary Industry Within Which Companies were Considered, Showing Percentages of the Work Forces Represented by these Categories in Quebec, Ontario and Canada.

Categories	<u>QUEBEC</u> (%)	<u>ONTARIO</u> (%)	<u>CANADA</u> (%)
Food and beverage.....	3.69	3.95	3.91
Textiles.....	2.39	1.08	1.14
Wood.....	1.39	0.91	1.73
Paper and allied.....	2.52	1.82	1.89
Printing, publishing and allied.....	1.36	1.99	1.50
Primary metal.....	1.60	2.42	1.67
Metal fabricating.....	1.70	2.73	1.85
Chemical.....	1.65	1.71	1.27
Construction, general contractors.....	3.84	3.35	3.82
Totals.....	20.14	19.96	18.78
Secondary Industry Totals..	37.29	36.48	31.99

number of companies that were large enough to be considered, were inaccessible.

In addition to enlisting the cooperation of a company within the Tobacco industry, the researchers were able to obtain the participation of a company which dealt with the following product categories on a large scale: Wood, Paper, Metal fabricating, Non-Metallic Minerals, and Chemicals. A third company which consented to take part in the study manufactured products that are found in the Primary Metals and Metal fabricating categories.

Table 3 lists the three companies which constitute the sample of manufacturing companies, with their corresponding categories of Manufacturing industries. The table also contains the percentages of the total work force in Quebec, Ontario and Canada represented by each of these categories. It can be seen that this selection of companies represents approximately 10% of the Quebec, Ontario and Canadian work force, and approximately one third of the work force in Secondary industry.

The Tertiary industry division shown in Section C of Table 1 was then considered. In this division of industries, it was necessary to eliminate the following categories:

(1) Trade, because of the insufficient numbers of management personnel in the great majority of companies, as well as the fact that it had already been planned to include organizations in this category in the small company study (See Introduction page 17).

Table 2.3 • Listing of Categories of Manufacturing Industry Represented by the Three Selected Companies A, B and C, Showing Percentages of the Work Forces Represented by these Categories in Quebec, Ontario and Canada.

Company	Categories	QUEBEC (%)	ONTARIO (%)	CANADA (%)
A	Tobacco.....	0.45	0.09	0.16
B	Primary metal, Metal fabricat- ing.....	1.60 *	2.42 *	1.67 *
C	Wood, paper, metal fabricating, non-metallic mineral, chemical	8.21	8.22	7.59
Totals.....		10.26	10.73	9.42
Manufacturing Industry Totals		30.01	30.46	25.33

* These percentages include Primary metal only. Metal fabricating happens to be included in the manufacturing processes of Company B, but it was represented within the percentages of Company C.

(2) Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, because the appropriate organizations provided the research group with only limited access to their management groups.

(3) Community, Business and Personal Service, because all of the companies included in this category were very small in size or were obviously inappropriate categories (e.g. Religious Institutions) for our study.

(4) Public Administration and National Defence, because the present study was concerned with industrial leadership, not government, and the fact that other Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism studies were concerned with governmental institutions.

There remained the Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities category and it was from this part of the Tertiary division of industry that a sample was selected. Of the several large organizations approached, four consented to cooperate and were included in the survey. Table 4 presents the industry categories within the Tertiary division from which the four companies were selected, and includes the percentages of the total work forces in Quebec, Ontario and Canada represented by this category. It can be seen that these four companies represent approximately 10% of the work force in Canada and these two provinces, and approximately nine tenths of the total work force in the Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities category.

Thus, seven major corporations comprised the final sample of

Table 2.4 - Listing of Categories of Transportation, Communication and Other Utilities Industry Represented by the Four Selected Companies D, E, F and G, Showing Percentages of the Work Forces Represented by These Categories in Quebec, Ontario and Canada.

Company	Categories	<u>QUEBEC</u> (%)	<u>ONTARIO</u> (%)	<u>CANADA</u> (%)
D	Transportation..	6.49	5.16	6.54
E	Communication...	2.29	2.23	2.41
F and G	Electric power, gas and water utilities.....	1.16	1.41	1.31
	Totals.....	9.94	8.80	10.26
	Transportation, communication, and other utilities totals.....	10.03	8.97	10.58

companies used in the study, of which three were Manufacturing and four were Service organizations. Five consisted of management groups composed of both French Canadian and English Canadian members, one was entirely English Canadian, and one was entirely French Canadian in ownership and management. In total numbers of employees, these companies range from less than 10,000 to over 50,000, and the number of employees from all companies totalled approximately 250,000. Each company then was large and significant in Canada's industrial system.

Selection of Individuals Within Organizations

(A) Defining Organizational Levels

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the decision was made to represent as adequately as possible management personnel at various levels within each organization. Since there was reason to believe that patterns of differences in attitudes between the two ethnic groups would vary somewhat between lower and higher levels of management, it was decided to group levels in the traditional way, that is, to delineate Lower, Middle and Higher management.

A major problem confronting the researchers was the choice of method for insuring the comparability of these three levels from company to company. Three alternatives were considered, namely: (1) the use of job titles, (2) the individual's report of his level in the hierarchy, and (3) his salary level. The use of the first alternative, job titles, presented insurmountable difficulties because of the great variation from company to company in managerial titles as well as the different

meanings attached by different companies to the same job title. For example, in some organizations, the title Supervisor designates a top-level manager, in others it refers to the lowest management level. This alternative was therefore dropped from consideration, and it was decided to try out the other two methods in order to determine at the data-gathering stage of the survey which of the two would be the more accurate. For the interested reader, Question 52 of the Biographical Questionnaire, Number 6, attempts to measure the individual's report of his level in the hierarchy, while Question 54 of the same questionnaire was used to determine his salary level (see Appendix Q pages 26 and 27).

During the field work phase of the survey, each researcher interviewed a small sample of managers and found that many of them experienced difficulty in determining with accuracy their particular level. This was particularly a problem for members of staff groups, where levels tend to be somewhat unclear. For this reason, it was decided to rely exclusively on salary level, as a way of delineating Lower, Middle and Higher Management. As a general check of the relationship between self-reported level and salary level, a coefficient of correlation was computed after the survey data had been collected for each cultural group. The correlation between these two methods was found to be .62 for the English group and .44 for the French group. Considering the rather unreliable nature of self-reported level, correlations of this magnitude indicate that salary level was indeed a good estimate of organizational level.

Following a careful examination of the salary structures of the companies included in the survey, the following levels of salary were found to be the most appropriate to ensure comparability of meaning among the companies in defining Lower, Middle and Higher management:

Level 1: Lower Management: \$ 8,999 per year or less

Level 2: Middle Management: \$ 9,000 to \$17,999 per year

Level 3: Higher Management: \$18,000 per year or more

These salary categories were therefore utilized within each company to determine the management level of each individual respondent.

(B) Geographical and Functional Representation

At the Middle and Higher levels of management (levels 2 and 3) all geographic locations were covered in each company which participated in the survey, hence no selection of branch locations which would represent geographical regions of Canada and the company's branch activities was required. The inclusive coverage of managers at these two levels was made possible by a procedure which was decided upon in the early stages of the project -- the mailing out of questionnaires to managers at the Middle and Higher levels¹. Complete lists of all managers at these two levels were obtained from each company. From these lists, samples of Middle-level managers, proportionately representing every location in each company, were selected. In the selection of Higher-level managers, the lists were again consulted, but in this case, all Higher-level managers

¹ The details of this procedure, and reasons for its use are explained in the chapter which immediately follows.

in each company were included in the survey. This was done because their numbers, even in the largest companies, were modest in size. The inclusive coverage of company locations made possible by the use of the mail-out procedure also ensured that all of the companies' functional areas, such as accounting, marketing, production (etc) were represented at these two Higher levels.

The problem of representing geographical and functional areas at the Lower level of management (Level 1) was a somewhat more difficult one, because in the planning stages of the project it was decided that the administration of the survey should be conducted on the premises of each company for this Lower level¹. The prohibitive cost in time and funds made visits to each branch location in each company unfeasible, hence the task was one of selecting the appropriate branch locations of the companies. The criteria used in the selection of geographical locations (that is, branches) were: (a) branch size -- those branches were chosen which were the largest in terms of the number of Lower-level managers employed, (b) geographical "spread" -- branches were chosen which were as widely separated as possible geographically, so that they represented as much as possible the geographical spread of the Canadian population, and (c) representativeness of companies' operations -- branches were chosen which reflected the major products or services of each company.

¹ The details of in-plant administration, and the reasons for its use at the Lower level of management are explained in the chapter which immediately follows.

The locations which were selected on the basis of these criteria for the survey of management personnel at the Lower level, extended from coast to coast and included five Canadian provinces. Obviously, the English Canadian management group was more spread geographically, while of necessity, French Canadian managers at this level tended to be concentrated in Eastern Canada.

In order to represent as adequately as possible each company's functions, as wide a selection as possible was made of functional areas such as accounting, marketing, production, etc. covered by Lower-level managers in each location. This was done in each branch and head office location of each company by selecting a relatively large group of Lower-level managers who supervised manufacturing or production operations, that is, who managed "blue collar" functions, and a smaller group of Lower-level managers who supervised "white collar" or office functions in each location. Since white collar functions were well represented by Middle and Higher-level management groups, it was decided that a smaller proportion was required at the first level hence, 20% of these managers were selected from white collar functions in each location and 80% were selected from blue collar functions. A relatively wide range of functions of both the blue and white collar types were included in the sample, including production and assembly operations, and maintenance (etc) on the blue collar side, and such activities as sales and accounting among the white collar group.

It might be well to point out that in the majority of companies

it was not possible to draw strictly proportional samples of the total array of functions and departments within levels for each cultural group, due to the unavailability of reliable personnel data in most companies.

(C) Determination of Sample Size

While no scientifically rigorous criterion existed for the decision about the exact numbers of management personnel to include at each level in each company, the researchers were guided by statistical estimates of error for sub-sample sizes of varying magnitudes. Data with respect to these estimates indicated that for sample sizes of around 100, there would be assurance that any results obtained from the survey would be accurate within 6 to 10 per cent. Increasing the sample size to 150 would reduce the error range to approximately five to eight per cent and a sample of 300 would result in an error range of approximately three and a half to six per cent.¹ Considering the reluctance of senior company personnel to involve too many management people in the survey, and the rather modest reduction of sampling error with large increases in sample size, as shown above, sample sizes of 100 to 150 seemed the most reasonable and practical numbers to strive for in all companies where it was possible to do so. The general aim of the researchers then, was to obtain 150 French Canadian and 150 English Canadian managers at level 1 (Lower management) and 100 French Canadian and 100 English Canadian managers at level 2 (Middle management). Because

¹ See Appendix A for a more complete explanation of sampling error estimate.

of the severely limited numbers of managers at level 3 (Higher management) for both ethnic groups, it was planned to obtain as many as possible in each company at this level. An examination of the lists of names submitted by companies revealed, however, that in two companies, it would not be possible to attempt to obtain our goal of 100 French Canadian respondents at level 2, since the total number of managers was below 50.

Table 5 shows the actual numbers of managers who comprised the final sample for the survey, with these numbers broken down by company, ethnic group and organizational level. It can be seen in this table that the numbers of managers who were actually included varied somewhat among companies. In some organizations fewer managers were obtained than had been planned, while in others, the numbers of management personnel that were actually obtained from levels 1 and 2 were well in excess of those that had been planned for. In the latter case, this was due to the fact that a few companies preferred that we try to reach a maximum number of their management personnel rather than a minimum.

Table 6 is presented to show the reader the maximum numbers of managers at level 1 (Lower management) and at levels 2 and 3 combined (Middle and Higher management) which were made available for the survey. For each company, inspection of the data in Table 6, then shifting to the same company in Table 5, enables the reader to see, respectively, the total sample of managers at these levels which the research team had access to, and the total numbers who actually "showed up", or who

Table 2.5 - Numbers of Managers Included in the Final Sample; Shown by Company, Ethnic Membership and Organizational Level.

Companies [*]	Ethnic Membership	Level I	Level II	Level III	Total
1	F.C. ¹	109	35	5	149
	E.C. ²	81	86	23	190
2	F.C.	308	247	17	572
3	F.C.	129	81	6	216
	E.C.	86	73	33	192
4	F.C.	153	112	6	271
	E.C.	151	172	61	384
5	F.C.	149	44	5	198
	E.C.	255	94	29	378
9	E.C.	81	112	28	221
10	F.C.	74	21	4	99
	E.C.	126	91	18	235
<u>Total</u>	F.C.	922	540	43	1,505
	E.C.	780	628	192	1,600

* These numbers represent the coding system used to identify each company. This system will be used consistently hereafter.

¹ F.C. indicates French Canadian ethnic membership.

² E.C. indicates English Canadian ethnic membership.

Table 2.6 - Numbers of Plant Locations Visited and Numbers of Managers Expected to Participate in the Survey; Shown by Company, Ethnic Membership and Organizational Level.

Companies	Ethnic Membership	LEVEL I		LEVEL II & III	Total
		Number of locations	Number of managers	Number of managers	
1	F.C.	3	131	57	188
	E.C.	4	146	205	351
2	F.C.	10	394	426	820
3	F.C.	3	144	119	263
	E.C.	4	134	168	302
4	F.C.	2	192	182	374
	E.C.	3	164	283	447
5	F.C.	4	174	193	367
	E.C.	6	314	220	534
9	E.C.	4	124	180	304
10	F.C.	5	91	35	126
	E.C.	8	190	126	316

forwarded usable questionnaires.

In Company 1, for example, only a few branches in Quebec and Ontario were made available, and in these combined locations, 131 French Canadian and 146 English Canadian managers at the Lower level (Table 6) constituted the groups which could be taken off the job for the survey. Of these, 109 French Canadian and 81 English Canadian managers completed usable questionnaires (Table 5)¹. At combined levels 2 and 3 in this company, the numbers of French Canadians employed were relatively small (57) and this total group was made available for the survey, along with a sample of 205 English Canadian managers at these levels. Of these available managers, 40 French Canadians and 109 English Canadians returned usable questionnaires. It can be seen from the data in this company that the originally-intended numbers of managers were not attained (except for English Canadian managers at levels 2 and 3 combined). Fewer than these "target" numbers were provided by the company at level 1, while at levels 2 and 3, all of the French Canadians employed were made available for the survey, but they were relatively few in number (57).

Similar problems occurred in companies 3, 9 and 10. In company 3, somewhat fewer French Canadians and English Canadians at level 1 were provided than was hoped for. While all of the French Canadian

¹ In actual fact, more than 109 and 81 managers actually answered the questionnaire. However, some questionnaires could not be included in the final sample for various reasons such as: incomplete data, obvious misunderstanding of instructions, inappropriate ethnic representation, etc.

managers at levels 2 and 3 were made available, their total numbers in this company were not quite large enough to provide a final sample equal to the intended target. Company 9 was the single organization in the sample of companies which was exclusively English Canadian in ownership and management. While slightly more than the intended numbers were obtained at level 2, it can be seen that the number of managers provided at level 1 yielded a final sample which was less than the intended target for this level. Company 10 was a somewhat smaller organization than the others, so that not enough French Canadian managers could be provided at any level to obtain a sample of the intended size. The number of English Canadians obtained was slightly below the desired number at levels 1 and 2.

It can be seen, however, that in companies 2 (the single organization which had an entirely French Canadian management force), 4 and 5, the intended target was attained or surpassed with a single exception (French Canadians at level 2 in company 5). In company 2, it was the expressed desire on the part of top management that all of the managers at levels 2 and 3 be involved in the survey. The research group accepted, feeling that the inclusion of a large number of French Canadians would compensate for the smaller numbers of this ethnic group who were available in other companies. In company 5, the desired numbers were obtained except for French Canadians at level 2. In this company, the attrition rate among French Canadians at these higher levels was particularly high. It should be noted also that in this com-

pany, a particularly large number of English Canadian managers at level 1 was made available, yielding a sample well above the intended number.

(D) Definition of Ethnic Membership

Two major interrelated problems faced the researchers in arriving at a sample of managers which would adequately represent English Canadian and French Canadian ethnic groups. First, there was the problem of the initial selection of managers which would include only members of the two ethnic groups of interest to this study, when only very rough and imprecise means were available to identify members of the two groups. Secondly, there was the problem of defining more precisely English Canadian and French Canadian ethnic membership, so that after the survey had been completed, the questionnaire answers from management personnel from all companies could be assigned with certainty to the appropriate ethnic group.

With respect to the selection problem, it was clear that the only available means for identifying French and English ethnic membership among the sample of managers to be selected for the survey were the general knowledge of superiors about their subordinates' backgrounds, and the ethnic "flavor" of the last names of individuals. Company personnel records did not provide accurate information on ethnicity of employees, and of course, it would have been awkward and time-consuming to have contacted managers personally to determine their ethnic membership prior to the selection of a sample.

While these two available methods for roughly differentiating the two groups (general knowledge and names) were exceedingly helpful, it was considered important to proceed in sampling negotiations with senior management in the companies with a "working" definition of ethnic membership. In developing this operational definition, it was necessary to consider several important but easily-overlooked factors. First, the terms "English-speaking" and "French-speaking" as a way of classifying the two groups, while commonly used, was deemed misleading for the simple reason that some members of each ethnic group do in fact speak the language of the other group. Secondly, the designation "English Canadian" and "French Canadian" is also misleading in that there are many types of English Canadians and French Canadians. Thirdly, without intimate knowledge of an individual's ethnic membership it would have been easy to mistakenly classify fluent French or English-speaking persons as Canadian members of one or the other of Canada's two cultures, when in fact they might have been recent immigrants to Canada. Because of the limited exposure of immigrants to the cultural influences of French Canadian and English Canadian culture, it was decided, in the initial selection proceedings, to exclude them from the sample. Canadian citizenship was therefore emphasized as a criterion for the sample selection in order to eliminate immigrants.

With consideration of the factors outlined above, the following definition was used as a guide by the research group in arranging with company personnel for the selection of a sample.

English Canadian: a Canadian citizen whose cultural or ethnic origin is English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh.

French Canadian: a Canadian citizen whose cultural or ethnic origin is French from any country.

In addition to providing a common interpretation of English Canadian or French Canadian, or English-speaking or French-speaking for all concerned, these definitions were consistent with the major aim of the study, which was to compare a broad array of French Canadian managers to an equally broad array of English Canadian managers.

Although these working definitions were most helpful in selecting individuals to be included in this study, the only means of guaranteeing that the final sample of managers were truly members of the two ethnic groups were to develop a set of questions related to ethnic membership to be answered by those managers who had actually participated in the survey. Three questions were included in the Biographical information section of the questionnaire and were worded as follows:

(Q.1) "What is your present nationality? Check only ONE answer:

1:__: I am a Canadian born in Canada

2:__: I am a Canadian born outside of Canada, but from a Canadian father

3:__: I am a Canadian by naturalization

4:__: I am not a Canadian citizen."

(Q.2) "What language did you FIRST learn in childhood and still

understand? Check only ONE answer.

1:__: English

2:__: French

3:__: other (specify)".

(Q.3) "To what ethnic or cultural group does (did) your father and mother belong?

YOUR FATHER

Check only ONE answer.

1:__: English

2:__: French

3:__: German

4:__: Irish

5:__: Italian

6:__: Scottish

7:__: Ukrainian

8:__: Welsh

9:__: Other (specify)

YOUR MOTHER

Check only ONE answer.

1:__: English

2:__: French

3:__: German

4:__: Irish

5:__: Italian

6:__: Scottish

7:__: Ukrainian

8:__: Welsh

9:__: Other (specify)."

The first question was designed to identify those managers in the sample who were Canadian citizens (categories 1 and 2), those who were naturalized Canadians (category 3), and "non-Canadians" or immigrants (category 4). The second question was designed to reveal the first language or mother tongue of each manager, thereby providing information regarding the extent of each individual's exposure to cultural influences via the medium of language. The third question was designed

to show the cultural origin of managers in the sample in terms of the cultural membership of both parents, thereby providing information regarding the extent of each individual's exposure to cultural influence from his parents.

Naturally, answers to these three questions from large and varied groups such as those participating in the survey yield many different combinations of ethnic categories. Consequently, the classification of all managers who had answered the survey questionnaires required a clear set of decision rules for judging those who would be retained and those who would be eliminated from the sample. The classifications of ethnic categories which were possible from this combination of questions, and which formed the basis for the decision rules outlined below, are shown in Table 7. The three columns of this table show the classification of individuals by type of citizenship, ethnic origin of parents, and by first language or mother tongue.

The top row shows the breakdown by ethnic origin and first language of naturalized Canadians ¹. Prior to the adoption of a decision rule concerning naturalized Canadians, two matters were considered. There was some question and doubt about the inclusion of any naturalized Canadians because of the fact that the exposure of this group to the two major Canadian cultures would be more limited (in time) than those who

¹ It should be noted in column 2 that, as mentioned earlier in this section of the present chapter, the term English refers to those whose cultural origin is English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh, and French to those whose cultural origin is French from any country. It should also be noted that the classification on immigrant or foreign born (category 4 of the first question) was omitted from the table since the decision had already been adopted to exclude them from the sample.

Table 2.7 - Categories of Canadians Classified According to Citizenship,
Ethnic Origin of Parents, and First Language Learned.

Type of citizenship (Question 16)	Ethnic origin of parents (Question 20)	First language learned (Question 19)
NATURALIZED CANADIAN CITIZEN	(a) both French	(1) French
	(b) both English	(2) English
	(c) one French and the other English	(3) French and English
	(d) one or both other than French or English	(4) other than French or English
CANADIAN CITIZEN, BORN IN CANADA OR OUTSIDE CANADA	(a) other than French or English	(5) French
		(6) English
		(7) French and English
		(8) other than French or English
	(b) one French or English and the other of different ethnic origin	(9) French
		(10) English
		(11) French and English
		(12) other than French or English
	(c) one French and the other English	(13) French
		(14) English
		(15) French and English
	(d) both French or both English	(16) French
		(17) English
		(18) French and English

had been born and raised in Canada. However, it was considered important to retain those of English and French parentage and tongue because the French and English cultures are, in effect, the parent cultures of Canada, hence the attitudes and values of this group would very likely be quite similar to those of the average Canadian-born person. In addition, there was some question concerning the possibility of conducting a separate analysis of the data obtained from naturalized Canadians, other than French or English cultural origin, because of the interesting variations that might be yielded between their attitudes and those of Canada's two major ethnic groups. It was not, however, considered really feasible to do so because of the small numbers in this group (64 in all).

Therefore, the first decision rule adopted was in reference to this naturalized Canadian group. It was decided that all naturalized Canadians whose parents were both French or both English or one French and one English in ethnic origin and whose first language was at the same time either French or English or both would be included in the sample.

Those eliminated from the sample were naturalized Canadian managers whose first language was other than French or English, and / or those in which one or both parents were neither French nor English in ethnic origin.

With regard to the Canadian citizen group, the decision rule adopted was that all Canadian-born managers were included in the sample except those whose first language was other than French or English, that is, those who were likely to have had extensive exposure to the influences

of a culture other than Canadian, despite the fact that they had been born and raised in Canada. In fact, only thirty-two managers were eliminated from the sample on this basis.

All those managers whose parentage and first language were English or French or both and were, of course, unequivocally Canadian, constituted the main body of the sample. It had been decided that those whose parentage was other than French or English, but whose first language was French or English would be retained, since it was felt that members of this group would have been exposed to one or the other of Canada's two cultures since infancy through the medium of language. As it turned out, only one individual fell in this category.¹

In summary, the final sample used in the survey included all naturalized Canadian citizens whose first language was English or French, and whose parents were of English or French origin, as well as all Canadians born in Canada whose first language was English or French, irrespective of the ethnic origin of their parents.

(E) Sex Membership

Since the number of women managers employed at all levels in the companies selected were exceedingly small, and since the predictions of attitudes among management personnel of both ethnic groups were exclusively based on studies of males, all women managers were excluded from the study.

¹ Only the respondents indicated that their first language was French and English. These three were eliminated from the study.

Distributions of Relevant Demographic Characteristics

The present chapter is concluded with distributions and accompanying descriptions of the sample in terms of several major demographic characteristics. It was felt that the inclusion of this data and interpretations of them would further familiarize the reader with the typical features of the sample of English Canadians and French Canadians, so that the presentation of results, which follows "Chapter III", might be made more meaningful. In addition, it was considered important to determine whether differences between French Canadian and English Canadian managers, on these demographic characteristics, were sufficiently large to warrant further investigation of their possible contribution to any differences found to exist between the two ethnic groups on any of the attitude dimensions studied in this report. For example, should both ethnic groups differ significantly in task orientation as well as educational level, it would be important to ascertain the extent to which differences in task orientation were due to ethnic differences, independently of educational level. The demographic characteristics which were thought to be the most important ones to consider were: (A) Age, (B) Amount of Human Relations Training Received, (C) Marital Status, (D) Education, and (E) Religious Affiliation.

(A) Age

Table 8 lists the mean ages, along with the standard deviations of these mean ages for French Canadian and English Canadian managers in each company and at each organizational level within each company. Com-

Table 2.8 - Distributions of Means (M) and Standard Deviations (σ) of Ages, Including Numbers of Managers (N), For French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Management Groups at Each Organizational Level Within Each Company (C).

		LEVEL 1			LEVEL 2			LEVEL 3		
		M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N
C ₁	FC	43.0	9.8	(106)	43.2	10.8	(34)			
C ₁	EC	44.4	10.3	(80)	45.8	10.0	(84)			
C ₃	FC	43.1*	6.8	(120)	45.4	7.1	(79)			
C ₃	EC	46.4	7.4	(85)	45.0	7.1	(73)			
C ₁₀	FC	46.0	10.1	(73)	44.0	8.8	(21)			
C ₁₀	EC	46.1	9.8	(123)	46.3	9.0	(92)			
C ₄	FC	39.1*	10.6	(153)	41.5*	9.4	(112)	40.0*	8.7	(6) ²
C ₄	EC	43.8	9.8	(149)	46.4	9.6	(171)	47.0	10.2	(61)
C ₅	FC	42.9*	8.1	(146)	46.0	9.2	(43)			
C ₅	EC	45.7	9.3	(250)	47.2	9.7	(92)			
C ₂	FC	41.7*	10.0	(304)	42.6*	9.6	(244)	39.5*	8.1	(15)
C ₉	EC	46.5	7.6	(81)	49.2	7.4	(112)	48.9	8.5	(28)
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.8	8.4	(19) ¹
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	-	-	-	-	45.8	9.1	(103)

* Indicates a statistically significant difference between the means of the two ethnic groups.

¹ These four companies were combined due to the small number of French Canadians in each company.

² Reasons for not combining this company with companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 are given in Appendix A.

paring these mean ages by company and by level, it can be seen that of the total of fifteen comparisons, the mean ages of the English Canadian management group exceeds those of the French Canadian group in thirteen of these fifteen cases. The mean age of French Canadians exceeds the English Canadians' mean age in only one case (in company 1, 3, 10 and 5 at level 3), while in the remaining one case (company 10, level 1), the means are equal¹. These thirteen out of fifteen cases, in which the English Canadian group exceeds the French Canadian group in mean age, constitute a statistically significant trend toward the English Canadian management group being older than the French Canadian management group in the companies sampled².

In addition to the statistically significant trend shown above, it is also possible to determine whether the mean ages of the French Canadian and English Canadian groups at each organizational level differ significantly. This analysis revealed that in eight cases, the mean ages of the English Canadian group were found to be larger than those of the French Canadian group at a statistically significant level of confidence; that is, differences as large as those found between the two ethnic groups at those particular levels were not likely to have occurred by chance³.

It should be pointed out here, however, that while age diffe-

¹ Means which differ by .1 or less are considered to be equal, hereafter in this chapter. ² See Appendix A for a description of the statistical significance test used: the sign test. ³ See Appendix A for a description of the statistical test used: the confidence interval test. Further discussion on the rationale for the use of this statistical analysis design may be found on pp.92-97 of Chapter III.

rences do occur in the sample, the mean differences between the two ethnic groups for all levels and companies combined is quite small (3.3 years). In addition, there is a strong tendency for statistically significant mean differences (in the eight cases described above) to "cluster" in a very few companies. Six of the eight significant differences occurred in only two comparisons between the two ethnic groups: the French Canadian group compared to the English Canadian group for company 4 at all three levels, and the French Canadian group for company 2 compared to the English Canadian group of company 9, again at all three levels. Furthermore, there is a fairly large degree of overlap in ages between the two ethnic groups, as shown by the fairly large standard deviations (ranging from 6.8 to 10.6). Still further, the differences between the two ethnic groups fall within the range of 39.1 to 49.2 years. At a more senior age range such as this, it is most unlikely that any age differences between the two ethnic groups amounting to less than five or six years would have a significant effect upon the attitudes of these two groups (though of course, the same conclusion could not be made for younger groups). These considerations would lead one to conclude that these generally small differences in age between the French Canadian and English Canadian managers, could not account for differences in attitudes found to exist between the two groups studied.

(B) Amount of Human Relations Training Received

Table 9 shows the distribution and comparison between the two

ethnic groups with respect to the number of hours received in human relations training programs. The data are expressed in four categories of hours of training received. Contrasting the two ethnic groups level by level across the companies listed, it can be seen that the percentages of French Canadians receiving no human relations training exceed the English Canadian group in eleven of the fifteen comparisons (a statistically significant trend), and three cases in which there were greater percentages of English Canadians with no training: company 1, at level 2, company 4, at level 3, and companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 at level 3. In the category "1 hr to 60 hrs", the French Canadian group exceeds the English Canadian group in percentage of those receiving training in eight cases, while in seven other cases, the reverse is true. Turning to the category in which "61 to 120 hours" of training have been received, it can be seen that there are six cases in which French Canadian groups exceed English Canadian groups in percentage of those who received this amount of training, while the reverse is true in eight cases. Finally, with respect to percentage comparisons for large amounts of human relations training received -- "121 or more hours", the data reveal that in nine cases, English Canadian groups exceed French Canadian groups in percentages, while the reverse is true in six cases.

When all of the patterns of differences between the two ethnic groups are compared across the whole 0 to 121 or more hours range for each level and company, seven differences are found to be statistically significant, and every one of these statistically significant differences is in the direction of English Canadians receiving more human relations

Table 2.9 - Distributions of Percentages of French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers who Have Received Human Relations Training, in Each of Four Categories of Number of Hours of Training Received, at Each Organizational Level Within Each Company (C).

		LEVEL 1					LEVEL 2					LEVEL 3				
		N ¹	0	1-60 hrs.	61-120 hrs.	121 hrs.	N	0	1-60 hrs.	61-120 hrs.	121 hrs.	N	0	1-60 hrs.	61-120 hrs.	121 hrs.
C 1	FC	(108)	23.1	39.8	18.5	18.5	(35)	17.1	28.5	8.6	45.7					
C 1	EC	(78)	23.1	33.3	16.7	26.9	(85)	18.8	25.9	22.4	32.9					
C 3	FC	(128)	8.6	32.1	19.5	39.8	(81)	12.3	16.0	14.8	56.8					
C 3	EC	(85)	4.7	40.0	16.4	38.8	(73)	8.2	28.8	17.8	45.2					
C 10	FC	(74)*	27.0	39.2	13.6	20.3	(21)	19.0	28.5	14.3	38.1					
C 10	EC	(124)	11.3	44.3	9.6	34.7	(92)	9.8	32.6	17.4	40.2					
C 4	FC	(153)	8.5	35.3	18.3	37.9	(112)	4.5	19.6	26.8	49.1	(6)	0.0	16.7	16.7	66.7
C 4	EC	(151)*	2.0	23.8	16.6	57.6	(171)*	2.9	11.7	21.0	64.3	(61)	4.9	23.0	21.3	50.8
C 5	FC	(146)	27.4	29.5	17.8	25.3	(44)	20.5	31.8	31.9	15.9					
C 5	EC	(250)	11.6	46.0	20.4	22.0	(92)*	9.8	31.5	18.5	40.2					
C 2	FC	(308)	22.4	46.1	16.8	14.6	(246)	17.5	41.0	18.3	23.2	(17)	41.2	29.4	29.4	0.0
C 9	EC	(81)*	4.9	27.1	24.6	43.2	(112)*	4.5	19.6	32.2	43.8	(28)*	7.1	14.3	28.6	50.0
C 1, 3, 10, 5	FC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(19)	15.8	10.5	10.6	63.2
C 1, 3, 10, 5	EC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(103)	16.5	21.4	10.7	51.5

¹ N indicates the number of managers in the sample. * Indicates a statistically significant difference between percentage distributions of the two ethnic groups.

training. That is, seven companies show over-all patterns of differences "in favour" of English Canadian management groups. This was the case in company 10 at level 1, company 4 at levels 1 and 2, in company 5, at level 2, and also when French Canadian managers in company 2 are compared to English Canadian managers in company 9 at all three levels. To take an example of one of these seven significantly different patterns in company 10, level 1, the percentage of English Canadians receiving human relations training exceeds the French Canadian percentage in the 1 to 60 hours category and also in the 121 hours or more category, while French Canadian managers far exceed English Canadian managers in the percentage of those who have had no training at all. In this example, the only category where the French Canadian group exceeds the English Canadian group in human relations training received, is in the 61 to 120 hours range, and here the difference is small (13.6 to 9.6 per cent). The over-all pattern is thus statistically significant in favour of the English Canadian group at this level in company 10¹.

These data may be summarized by the following two points:

(1) a relatively large percentage of French Canadian managers in the sample have received no human relations training courses, in contrast to the rather large percentage of English Canadians who have received at least some training;

¹ See Appendix A for a description of the statistical test used.

(2) the largest, most significant differences in percentage between the two ethnic groups in every case, strongly favour the English Canadian group, that is, of all the differences found between the two ethnic groups with regard to amount of training received, the largest ones are those in which the English Canadian strikingly exceeds the French Canadian group.

In view of these two considerations, it was decided to study the effects of this variable on the attitudes of both ethnic groups as measured by the attitude scales developed and reported in subsequent chapters of this project report.

(C) Marital Status

Table 10 shows the distributions and comparisons for the Marital Status factor. Inspection of these data shows that there is little variation among management groups in the sample in terms of the categories of marital status. The vast majority of managers in the sample are married, and in fact, in only two cases does the total percentage of married fall below ninety percent, in company 1, (English Canadians at level 1), and in company 2, (French Canadians at level 3). Obviously, no trend of difference exists between the two ethnic groups with respect to this demographic characteristic.

(D) Education

Finally, Table 11 shows the distributions of means and standard deviations of years of education for companies and for organizational

Table 2.10 - Distributions of Percentages of French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers According to Marital Status in Each of Four Categories of Marital Status, at Each Organizational Level Within Each Company (C).

		LEVEL 1					LEVEL 2					LEVEL 3				
		N*	S*	M*	W*	D*	N	S	M	W	D	N	S	M	W	D
C 1	FC	(111)	8.1	91.0	0.0	0.9	(35)	0.0	97.1	0.0	2.9					
	EC	(81)	11.1	85.2	1.2	2.5	(86)	2.3	97.7	0.0	0.0					
C 3	FC	(128)	2.3	97.7	0.0	0.0	(81)	3.7	93.8	0.0	2.5					
	EC	(86)	0.0	96.5	1.2	2.3	(73)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0					
C 10	FC	(74)	0.0	98.6	1.4	0.0	(21)	9.5	90.5	0.0	0.0					
	EC	(124)	4.0	94.4	1.6	0.0	(92)	2.2	96.7	0.0	1.1					
C 4	FC	(153)	7.2	91.5	1.3	0.0	(112)	4.5	95.5	0.0	0.0	(6)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
	EC	(151)	4.0	93.4	0.7	2.0	(172)	5.2	92.4	0.6	1.7	(61)	3.3	96.7	0.0	0.0
C 5	FC	(149)	2.7	96.6	0.0	0.7	(44)	2.3	95.5	2.3	0.0					
	EC	(255)	2.4	96.1	1.2	0.4	(93)	4.3	94.6	0.0	1.1					
C 2	FC	(308)	4.9	93.8	0.6	0.6	(247)	3.6	94.7	1.2	0.4	(17)	5.9	88.2	5.9	0.0
	EC	(81)	2.5	92.6	2.5	2.5	(112)	2.7	94.6	0.0	2.7	(28)	3.6	92.9	3.6	0.0
C 1, 3, 10, 5	FC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(20)	5.0	90.0	0.0	5.0
	EC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(103)	2.9	95.1	1.0	1.0

* N = Number of Managers S = Single M = Married W = Widowed D = Divorced

levels within companies. The data in this table show that of the fifteen comparisons (companies and levels combined), between the two ethnic groups, the English Canadian groups have higher mean levels of education in eight cases, the French Canadian groups have higher mean levels in five cases, and the means of the two groups are equal in two cases. Of the total of eleven differences found, five were found to be statistically significant. These were: company 3, at level 1, company 4, at level 3, companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 combined at level 3, and where French Canadian managers in company 2 were compared to English Canadian managers at both levels 1 and 2 in company 9. It should be noted here that in two of these five cases of significant differences, (company 3, level 1 and companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 combined, at level 3), the mean years of education of the English Canadian group exceed that of the French Canadian group, while the reverse is true in three cases (company 2 compared to 9, at levels 1 and 2, and in company 4, at level 3). One could conclude from these data that no consistent trend of difference exists between the two ethnic groups with respect to level of education achieved.

(E) Religious Affiliation

Respondents were asked to indicate which religious faith they belong to by checking one of the following categories:

"To which religious faith do you belong? Check only ONE answer.

1:__: Jewish

2:__: Protestant

Table 2.11 - Distributions of Means (M) and Standard Deviations (σ) of Years of Education Received, Including Number of Managers (N), for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Management Groups at Each Organizational Level Within Each Company (C).

		LEVEL 1			LEVEL 2			LEVEL 3		
		M	σ	N	M	σ	N	M	σ	N
C ₁	FC	10.7	3.1	(107)	11.8	3.2	(35)			
C ₁	EC	11.1	2.8	(81)	12.2	2.7	(85)			
C ₃	FC	9.4	2.4	(129)	12.5	3.5	(81)			
C ₃	EC	10.3	2.1	(85)	13.2	2.8	(73)			
C ₁₀	FC	10.5	3.3	(74)	11.8	2.8	(21)			
C ₁₀	EC	11.1	2.5	(124)	11.5	2.6	(92)			
C ₄	FC	11.6	2.4	(153)	12.4	3.0	(111)	14.2	2.2	(6)
C ₄	EC	11.9	2.4	(151)	12.3	2.4	(171)	12.1	2.5	(1)
C ₅	FC	10.1	2.5	(149)	10.8	2.3	(43)			
C ₅	EC	10.0	2.2	(255)	11.2	2.7	(93)			
C ₂	FC	11.7	3.3	(308)	13.2	3.5	(246)	13.2	3.3	(17)
C ₉	EC	11.2	2.1	(81)	12.6	2.6	(112)	12.8	1.9	(23)
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.6	3.0	(20)
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.1	3.1	(103)

3:__: Roman Catholic

4:__: Other (specify)

5:__: I do not belong to any religious faith."

Table 12 shows the distributions of numbers and percentages of English Canadians in Catholic, Protestant and Other¹ categories of religious affiliation in each company and at each organizational level within each company. Since the French Canadian management group consisted of approximately ninety-eight per cent Catholic members, no religious breakdown has been shown for that group.

One can see by an over-all inspection of the data in this table that there is a fairly substantial percentage of Catholic members among the English Canadian groups, but that the majority are Protestant in religious faith. The largest percentages of Catholics are found in company 1 at level 1, in company 5 at level 2, and in company 4 at level 3, where 40%, 37% and 34% respectively of the English Canadian groups are catholic. The smallest percentages of Catholic members are found in company 9 at both levels 2 and 3, with 7% and 11% respectively. It can also be seen that the percentages of managers in the other category are exceedingly small, with the largest percentage being 12% in company 5 at level 1. The mean percentages of Catholics, Protestants and others over all companies and levels are, as the table shows,

¹ The Other category in the table included those of Jewish or other faiths, along with these who espouse no religious belief, i.e. categories 1, 4 and 5 respectively.

Table 2.12 - Distributions of Numbers and Percentages of English Canadian Managers According to Religious Affiliation, in Each of Three Categories of Religions at Each Organizational Level in Each Company.

Company	Catholic	Protestant	Other	Totals
<u>LEVEL 1</u>				
1	32 (39.5%)	45 (55.5%)	4 (4.9%)	81
3	22 (25.5%)	62 (72.0%)	2 (2.3%)	86
10	28 (22.5%)	93 (75.0%)	3 (2.4%)	124
4	39 (25.8%)	106 (70.1%)	6 (3.9%)	151
5	56 (22.1%)	185 (73.1%)	12 (4.7%)	253
9	17 (20.9%)	61 (75.3%)	3 (3.7%)	81
Totals	194 (25.0%)	552 (71.1%)	30 (3.8%)	776
<u>LEVEL II</u>				
1	25 (29.0%)	59 (68.6%)	2 (2.3%)	86
3	19 (26.0%)	51 (69.8%)	3 (4.1%)	73
10	22 (23.9%)	69 (75.0%)	1 (1.0%)	92
4	36 (20.9%)	132 (76.7%)	4 (2.3%)	172
5	34 (36.5%)	56 (60.2%)	3 (3.2%)	93
9	8 (7.1%)	95 (84.8%)	9 (8.0%)	112
Totals	144 (22.9%)	462 (73.5%)	22 (3.5%)	628
<u>LEVEL III</u>				
9	3 (10.7%)	24 (85.7%)	1 (3.5%)	28
CIES	22 (21.3%)	76 (73.7%)	5 (4.8%)	103
4	21 (34.4%)	39 (63.9%)	1 (1.6%)	61
Totals	46 (23.9%)	139 (72.3%)	7 (3.6%)	192
Grand Totals	384 (24.0%)	1 153 (72.2%)	59 (3.6%)	1 596

24%, 72% and 4% respectively; that is, about one quarter of the total English Canadian group of managers in the sample are catholic.

It should be pointed out that since, as might be expected, the French Canadian group is essentially catholic (98%) and the English Canadian group predominantly protestant (72%), the following question could arise: "To what extent could differences found between these two ethnic groups in attitude toward the major dimensions of industrial leadership studied be attributable to differences in religion rather than ethnicity?" That is, one might be interested in knowing to what extent differences between French Canadian and English Canadian managers regarding, say, differences in attitude toward the profit goal of enterprises or, toward task orientation attitudes regarding management practices, would be due to differences in religious upbringing or indoctrination rather than differences in ethnicity per se. It could be counted that such a question is somewhat academic, since the fact that the groups espouse different religions is, in itself, a major difference in ethnicity. That is, if one could in some way eliminate differences in such major characteristics as education, religion, or language, one would, in fact, virtually eliminate ethnic differences, since it is precisely the combination of these kinds of factors that constitute the essence of ethnicity. This counter view is, in the opinion of the researchers, a sound one, so that the question of religious differences between the two ethnic groups is considered a point of interest, rather than a major dilemma posed in the study. It is with this perspective

in mind that the decision was made to establish the relationship between religious affiliation and leadership attitudes in this study.

In summary, the distributions of five major demographic variables were examined for both French Canadian and English Canadian managers at all of the three organizational levels within the companies sampled. It was concluded that of these five, only two, Amount of Human Relations Training Received and Religious Affiliation showed important trends of differences between the two ethnic groups. It was therefore considered important to determine the degree to which differences in these two variables contributed to differences between the two ethnic groups in the attitudes which were studied in this research.

Chapter III

General Procedure

The Assessment Technique

A primary consideration in the conduct of the study was, of course, the selection of the basic assessment device to be utilized. Though various kinds of techniques can be used for the study of peoples' attitudes and motives, they can be safely grouped into two broad categories: interviews, -- which vary enormously according to type and purpose, and questionnaires, of which many types are also available. Though contrasts between these two broad alternative approaches represent a very complex issue, the basic choices facing the researchers resolved themselves into questions of objectivity and subjectivity on the one hand, and between depth or penetration and breadth of coverage on the other. Specifically, the interview is generally felt to hold the advantage of allowing for somewhat greater depth and richness of data, since it affords an opportunity to assess more easily the depth and range of feeling underlying attitudes and allows the researcher to probe the "why" of statements expressed by individuals. There is, on the other hand, general consensus that questionnaires allow for greater objectivity, since they prevent the researcher from "reading into" specific responses his own biases, and somewhat greater precision, since responses are more readily quantifiable. In addition, they provide more research information in a given period of time -- that is, are more economical.

The researchers had to take into account several important factors in their selection of the assessment technique to be utilized in the study. First, the problem area was to a large extent an unexplored one, since, as mentioned in the Introduction, few research studies have been conducted

on managerial attitudes in Canada. This left the researchers with an inadequate base to circumscribe a small number of key leadership areas to be examined. Secondly, in accordance with the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the study had to be national in scope, rather than limited to data derived from a single company or even a single industry. Consequently, it was felt that the complexity and scope of the research project called for the identification of as many problem areas of leadership as possible, the accumulation of a maximum amount of information in the allotted completion time of the project and the inclusion of large numbers of management personnel within a rather broad range of industrial settings.

Because general trends of attitudes rather than specific depth information were of primary concern to the researchers, and because the purpose of the study was to analyze and interpret trends from rather sizeable groups of people (managers and supervisors), the decision was made to utilize questionnaires exclusively. This allowed for: (1) the collection of a greater amount of data in a limited time period, hence, more information "per dollar" of research funds, and (2) easier and more reliable computation and computerization of the data.

General Considerations in Questionnaire Development

As previously mentioned, the complexity and scope of the problem were so great that it was decided to make a broad and flexible rather than a narrow utilization of the questionnaire technique. It was indeed felt

that the chief concern should be the search for problem areas of communication between the two cultural groups with regard to the leadership process rather than any exhaustive investigation or penetrating analysis of certain pre-selected dimensions. The need for the scanning and mapping of major attitude dimensions within a relatively short period of a respondent's time thus became the basic consideration in determining the content, format and length of each questionnaire. To use an analogy, the doctor, in examining an individual, first takes very general "readings" of the person's condition with use of such general instruments as the stethoscope in an effort to determine whether or not there are any general symptoms of a health problem before proceeding to more precise and detailed diagnostic procedures. In a similar way, the researchers felt that the use of the questionnaire technique must be guided by a broad rather than a specific diagnostic approach. Thus, research efforts were directed toward a wide range of content with respect to the attitude dimensions studied, and this strategy called for the utilization of an array of short questionnaires and several types of format, including forced choice of the paired comparison type, ranking systems, and point-scales.

The basic types of questionnaires utilized in the study and in fact most of the specific questions used were taken from an extensive pool of items originally developed by members of the Industrial Psychology Center at the University of Montreal for use in their studies on leadership conducted in schools and in industry. Other sources utilized to some extent were: (1) industrial attitude survey material used in studies conducted at Purdue, Michigan and Ohio State Universities, and (2) a

preliminary study of occupational motivation conducted at the University of British Columbia. Considerable time and effort were expended drawing upon these sources for editing questionnaire items, formulating new ones, adapting and of course translating all items that were finally selected to fit the basic attitude dimensions outlined in the Introduction.

The importance of accurate translation cannot be over-emphasized in such a study as this. Any ambiguity in a translated concept could cause confusion and irritation to the manager answering the questionnaire, thereby reducing motivation, but even more important, absolute assurance was necessary that differences in attitude between the two groups were due to real attitude differences, and not to different interpretations of the same word or concept. A considerable amount of time was thus devoted to the translation of these items in order to achieve equivalence in both languages. A committee of six people was used in the translation process and unanimous agreement among them on the correct and accurate translation of each item was set as the standard throughout to include an item in the survey. In addition, a professional translator from the Department of Linguistics of the University of Montreal was consulted as needed.

Throughout the course of this development of the questionnaires, the items were systematically evaluated and screened. This elimination process, and subsequent reduction of the total number of questions used in the survey, was guided by two major criteria: (1) time limitations -- the research team was in effect allowed approximately two and a half hours

per session of administration time by the majority of organizations, and this allotment set the upper limit on the total number of items to be used in the survey, and (2) item relevance or appropriateness -- those items which, it was predicted, would cause confusion or difficulty to the respondent were dropped. The research team, in conference, also analyzed the content validity of each and every item, eliminating those whose wording and concepts did not, on careful observation, faithfully reflect the basic attitude dimensions that they were designed to reflect. For example, unless all four members of the research team reached complete consensus that a questionnaire item, such as one measuring attitude toward status, was clear and unambiguous to anyone answering it, or that it did not clearly reflect the status dimension and no other one, it was dropped from the survey. In addition, several small-scale but systematic and carefully-planned pilot studies were conducted, using industrial personnel, to check and confirm the judgments made by the committee on the items dealt with.

The outcome of the extended development outlined above was a set of ten questionnaires which were subsequently printed and bound into a booklet with English and French versions¹. The questionnaire booklet was divided into two parts, with Part I (pages 1 to 33) including those questionnaires which assessed what was considered to be essential information and which, it was hoped, would be answered by all managers included in the survey. The set of questionnaires in Part II (page 33 to the end) contained items which would provide important supplementary

¹ A copy of each version can be found in Appendix Q of this report.

data -- specifically, on "Biographical information", "Motivation", and the experimental device for assessing attitudes, the "Semantic Differential Technique". Those managers included in the survey were urged to answer Part II, if they had time and were willing to do so. The questionnaire booklet also included a portion to be answered by business students and not managers (pages 40 to 50 in the English version), since for reasons of printing cost savings, the student questions that differed from those used in the large company survey were inserted between the same booklet covers.

While details of the questionnaire format used to assess the Goals, Management and Motivation dimensions are outlined more fully in subsequent chapters of this report, in order to familiarize the reader with the general outline and content of the questionnaires, they are briefly described below.

"Motivation": Questionnaire 1, Part 1, a 91-item questionnaire in which a set of 14 work motives are compared to each other in a paired-comparison format. The individual chooses the one alternative of the two in each item according to the criterion stated in the instructions (page 2). Questionnaire 9, Part 2, a 99-item questionnaire of identical format to Questionnaire 1, but containing six additional work motives compared, item by item.

"Goals": Questionnaire 2, a 25-item questionnaire containing a set of 10 company goals. Each of 5 economic goals is compared to

each of 5 humanitarian-social goals. The individual, as in Questionnaire 1, chooses one of the two alternatives in each item, according to the criterion outlined in the instructions (page 8). In items 26 and 27 are listed the same set of goal statements which the individual is, this time, required to rank order according to instructions (page 10).

"Goal Conflict": Questionnaire 3, Part 1, (Questions 11 to 59, pages 11 to 13) a 49-item questionnaire, in which the individual indicates his degree of agreement or disagreement with items which refer to conflict between business activity and other realms of activity (family, society, etc..), and to the images individuals hold of businessmen.

"Management": Questionnaire 3, Part 2, (Questions 11 to 56, pages 13 to 15) a 46-item questionnaire in which the individual indicates agreement or disagreement with management practices. This set of items was included in the same questionnaire with the Goal Conflict items (above) because the same answering instructions applied to both. Questionnaire 4, (Questions 57 to 80) a 24-item questionnaire in which the individual indicates, as instructed on page 16, the way in which a superior should act toward his subordinates, selecting the appropriate number 1 to 8 to indicate his opinion. Questionnaire 5a, (Questions 11 to 17) a set of multiple-choice questions, referring again to management practices.

"Biographical Information and Job Satisfaction": Questionnaire 6, in this section a series of 45 items is presented in which the

the individual provides, with use of check marks, information about his background, linguistic skill, job type and salary information, etc.. Combined with these questions are several items concerning job satisfaction which, for convenience sake, were included in questionnaire 6. These items are number 68 to 74 (pages 29 and 30). Questionnaire 8, a series of 29 background information and three job satisfaction items (items 45, 46 and 47) are included for possible, but not essential, use in the analysis of results.

The following is a brief description of the other sections in the questionnaire that constitute supplementary data not analyzed in this report.

"Management": Questionnaire 5b, a set of 10 questions in which the individual is required to rank order (as instructed page 19) statements referring to management practices. Questionnaire 7, a short three item questionnaire designed to assess the individual's opinion of his superior's actual (rather than preferred) management practices. Questionnaire 7c, included 10 items, again referring to actual practices of the individual's immediate work superior that in this case, require comparative rank ordering in terms of frequency with which these practices are used.

"Goals": Questionnaire 10, using the Semantic Differential technique. The individual is required to indicate his general evaluation of a set of 9 basic work or career-related concepts as indi-

cated in the instructions (pages 58 and 59).

It should be noted that these particular questionnaires were used in data gathering, but they were not to be included in the analysis of results, for reasons outlined in the Introduction (page 16).

Two other points should be noted in familiarizing the reader with the questionnaire booklet. First, page 1 contains a letter which introduces the survey to the person answering it, explains the purpose of the research and gives general instructions for answering. Secondly, (as explained in this introductory letter), I B M code numbers and item numbering systems are used throughout the booklet so that the answers could be transferred to electronic data processing cards for sorting and analysis. For this reason, the first item of a questionnaire is often numbered 11, rather than 1.

General Administration Procedure

The major criterion for the selection and use of specific procedures in the administration and conduct of the survey was, of course, the absolutely essential need to assure the maximum motivation and therefore the full cooperation of all industrial personnel who would in any way be involved in the project. The researchers viewed the problem of motivation to be of profound importance at two levels. First, it was a crucial factor to consider with reference to the leaders of organizations selected and approached for the study. Without their continued cooperation and endorsement, the motivation of those managers at lower

levels who were to answer the questionnaire could not be secured. Secondly, and of equal importance, the cooperation of those managers below the top level who were selected to answer the survey could be greatly enhanced, yet not guaranteed, by top-level endorsement. In view of this, direct and continued contact had to be secured at all levels by the research directors in order to develop and maintain motivation after endorsement of the study had been given by the President or very senior member of management. At both of these general levels, the research directors' appeals for full cooperation were based not upon requests made of company management to "help out" academic personnel by providing access to company premises and company data, but rather, were directed toward arousing and enhancing interest in the mission and work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the importance of research findings to industrial leaders in Canada.

The selection and use of administrative procedures were also based upon the obvious fact that the attitude questionnaires used in the survey (and outlined above) were long and complex in content. Hence it would have been easy for those indifferent to the purposes of the study or who considered themselves too busy in their work to give the time it required, to leave out some of their answers, to give up before completing the important parts of the set of questionnaires, or to fail to give honest and thoughtful answers to the items. It should be emphasized here that all those who answered the questionnaire did so voluntarily. In all companies participating, cooperation was urged by top management, but not legislated by them.

Still another crucial factor underlying the problem of motivation was the obvious "touchy" nature of the subject matter. A major Royal Commission study aimed at an issue as potentially explosive and threatening as ethnic relations, made the problem of enlisting full cooperation an especially important yet difficult one, and made the inevitable bad consequences of a badly-planned and executed research study an extremely serious matter. There has always been a strong and predictable tendency for any industrial organization who has suffered through research missteps such as betrayal of anonymity, or the undue arousal of anxiety and hostility at lower levels, to forever close its doors to future access by research personnel. These considerations then, guided the researchers in the very time-consuming planning and careful execution of the procedures, from the initial contacts with companies to the collection of the data.

With some minor company-to-company exceptions, the following basic steps were followed in acquiring the research data analyzed and interpreted in this report:

(A) Initial Company Contacts

(1) Letters were forwarded to the president or senior member of top management, of each company selected for inclusion in the survey. The letter introduced and briefly outlined the purpose and nature of the study, requested cooperation of the company in the study, and specifically guaranteed that both company name and the identity of individuals

whose opinions were to be surveyed, would be held in strictest confidence. In addition, a face-to-face meeting with the president or senior member of management was specifically requested¹.

(2) Face-to-face discussions with senior personnel on the company premises were then scheduled and arranged, and specific efforts were made in these discussions to further persuade senior company representatives to have their organization participate in the study as well as to "get behind" the study. At the same time, the meetings were designed to further familiarize them with the planned procedure of the survey and the types of questionnaires to be used. Senior management was also requested to appoint an in-company coordinator at a fairly senior level of management to assist in the selection of a sample, to organize and expedite specific administrative arrangements, and to gather and furnish the researchers with the necessary information on company structure and personnel.

(3) In addition, the president or his senior designate was urged to give his personal endorsement to the study by forwarding a signed letter to all management personnel, asking those who were to be selected to cooperate fully with this Royal Commission endeavor, and of course, to clear arrangements through all branch managers or directors to assure the smooth conduct of the study. It must be emphasized that in all cases, several discussion sessions were required to gain the

¹ The interested reader will find a sample copy of this letter in Appendix M .

support of selected companies and that a few companies, even then, declined to cooperate.

In these initial contacts with senior members of management, it was felt that a necessary condition for the full endorsement and cooperation of each organization in the project was the promise by the research directors that a later "feedback" of research results would be given each individual organization. This commitment was, in each case, given by the directors, with the proviso that only general, over-all company data would be discussed, thereby preserving the complete anonymity of individuals and departments.

(B) Selection of Company Samples

In conference with the appointed company coordinator, samples of French Canadian and English Canadian management personnel were selected. The selection was guided by information regarding the distribution of personnel in the various branches of the company, the availability of groups of personnel for participation in the survey, and the definition and delineation of management levels so that the comparability of these levels could be achieved across different companies in the sample. Several weeks were required to complete this sorting and selection task.

(C) Data-Gathering Strategies

There was a basic consideration with respect to the specific ways in which the research data could most efficiently be obtained. The

sample of managerial personnel was an extremely heterogeneous one, with wide variations in educational level among the members surveyed, and consequently wide variations were expected between those with limited education and those highly educated in their comprehension of the many concepts used in the questionnaires. This was a crucial problem which immediately suggested to the researchers the use of an "in-plant" closely-supervised administration of the questionnaire booklets to groups of personnel so that difficulties in comprehension and other problems such as fatigue could be dealt with "on the spot" by members of the research team. This in-plant strategy is, of course, the ideal one since it allows for "instant handling" of the comprehension and fatigue problems, and maximizes chances that all completed questionnaires will be gathered. However, in view of the many widely-spread locations selected for inclusion in the study, and the great difficulty which would have been experienced by company personnel in arranging a specific time and place convenient for those at middle and upper administrative levels across the company to assemble in groups, the exclusive use of this strategy was not considered feasible.

Over a period of time during the course of planning the data-gathering phase of the project, a pilot study was conducted in several groups sessions, using a total of 150 management personnel. In this pilot study, careful observations confirmed the fact that, for those at lower levels of management with more limited education, some personal assistance was needed in answering the questionnaire items, but that those from middle and upper levels of management, (the vast majority of

whom were by all standards well-educated) could answer the questionnaire on their own without undue difficulty. It was therefore decided to mail out questionnaires with enclosed instructions and return envelope to middle and upper levels of management in the sample, and to supervise in groups, and on the premises of each organization, the administration of questionnaires to those in lower-level supervision.

(D) In-Plant Administration

Those first-level supervisors selected for the survey were contacted through their respective immediate superiors, and visits by the researchers to respective branches of the company for administration of the questionnaire were in each case scheduled.

After a brief introduction by a company representative, a member of the research staff explained the nature and content of the survey. The questionnaires were then distributed and answered. In these visits, two or three sessions of two and half hours each were usually arranged so that all selected personnel would be covered and each scheduled group consisted of between 20 to 50 members.

(E) Mail-Out Procedure

From lists of middle and upper-level management personnel provided by the coordinator, questionnaires were mailed out to each member of the selected sample groups, along with (1) a letter from the President urging him to cooperate in the study and assuring him that the company was fully supporting the project, (2) a letter from the research directors, briefly explaining the survey, urging him to complete the

questionnaire booklet, and guaranteeing anonymity, and (3) a stamped self-addressed envelope for the return of the questionnaire. Follow-up letters were forwarded from the research directors approximately two weeks later, urging the completion and return of the booklet if it had not already been sent back¹. The code word "E x p é d i é" (Sent out) placed on a different part of the questionnaire booklet cover for each company identified that company for analysis purposes. The code scheme was known to none but the members of the research team.

(F) Data Collection and Organization

Completed questionnaire booklets from both mail-out and in-plant administration were collected and sorted by a clerical staff of graduate students working with the research team. This staff checked and edited each item and each of the booklets collected in the survey, classifying and categorizing answers which did not obviously fit the question, eliminating unanswered questions, and otherwise preparing all questions in the booklets for transferring to I B M punched cards for computer sorting and analysis.

Methods of Analysis

With regard to the over-all research design, a major consideration was the general way in which the survey data should be combined for analysis, interpretation and presentation. Since considerable variation does exist among the policies, practices and work climates of different industrial organizations, and since it is also common to find that

¹ A sample copy of these letters are shown in Appendix M.

different levels of management constitute somewhat different "sub-cultures" within industrial organizations, it was considered of primary importance to determine the extent to which differences or similarities in attitudes between the two ethnic groups were consistent across different organizations and different administrative levels within these organizations. In fact, a research design in which the results from levels and companies were all combined to present over-all statements regarding the existence of a particular difference or similarity between the two ethnic groups could be misleading, because this type of summary index, such as an arithmetic mean, could be subject to three major types of distortion.

First, differences in such a summary index could be due mainly to the influence of very large differences found in only one or two organizational levels of one (or two) companies. This could lead one to believe that an over-all cultural difference had been found, when in fact, one or two isolated (or local) differences had accounted for the over-all result.

Secondly, such over-all differences could be due to systematic differences between the two ethnic groups at only one organizational level across companies, or in only one type of organization, such as either service or non-service types. Again, the resulting over-all difference would, in fact, be due to the special effects of level of managerial responsibility or membership in a particular type of company, and

should not be interpreted as a general cultural one.

Thirdly, an over-all index, such as a general mean, could be affected by large differences in numbers of managers sampled in the various organizational levels or companies surveyed, resulting in the biasing of the over-all index. That is, differences between the French Canadian and English Canadian over-all means could, in this case, be spuriously magnified by large differences in numbers of managers at various levels of different companies for either or both of the two ethnic groups. As shown in Table 5 of Chapter II, there is considerable variation in the numbers of managers between companies and between organizational levels. In fact, it can be seen that with respect to organizational levels, there are, in total, approximately twice as many French Canadian managers at level 1 than there are at level 2, while the French Canadian management group at level 3 represents only about one tenth of those at level 2. On the other hand, differences in number of English Canadian managers between level 1 and 2 are minimal, while at level 3, the number represented is approximately thirty per cent of the number at level 2. Thus the effect of differences in numbers of managers between level 1, 2 and 3 on the over-all index could be considerably greater for the French Canadian group than for the English Canadian group. With respect to type of organization, there are approximately twice as many managers in service organizations than in non-service ones for both the French Canadian and English Canadian groups¹, indicating a greater

¹ The numbers of managers in these two types of organizations in the sample of companies are not shown in any table in this research report. In order to preserve the anonymity of company identity, it was felt necessary to refrain from specifying which companies were in fact service organizations.

effect on any over-all index of service type.

In view of these points, emphasis was placed on the analysis of contrasts between the two ethnic groups company-by-company, and level-by-level within companies. This represented the basic form in which the data were analyzed and presented, and one of the major criteria in the selection of statistical analysis procedures.

Another important consideration was the degree to which attention should be directed toward the results of each individual item in the questionnaire. To provide a detailed analysis and interpretation of each item within a particular attitude dimension (such as status, interpersonal premises, task orientation, etc.), would have been, in addition to being a long arduous task, too cumbersome in that it could not provide the reader with a meaningful statistic that would summarize the degree to which each cultural group values each particular dimension. It was therefore decided to begin the analysis of the data by first of all determining the extent to which a particular item could be considered, on the basis of purely statistical criteria, to belong to a given dimension. This statistical analysis served to verify the research committee's previous judgment on the relevancy of the items and allowed the researchers to eliminate all ambiguous or non-relevant items on the basis of an even more objective criterion. The analysis also served to group together all items that measured a particular attitude dimension and the resultant attitude scale was utilized to determine each individual's score on that dimension, the score being a simple addition of an individual's response

to each question of the scale. Secondly, it was decided to compare both cultural groups on each attitude dimension by contrasting their respective mean scores on these dimensions, while drawing particular attention to those specific questions that accounted for any significant differences found to exist between the two groups. This approach constituted the major mode of analysis utilized in the study.

The formulation of a specific plan for the statistical analysis of the data was based upon two other more general considerations:

(1) Communicability was an essential criterion. It was important to select statistical strategies which would combine rigor with simplicity, so that the reader with only a cursory knowledge of statistical techniques would find the results understandable, yet retain its significance to the social scientist.

(2) The time and cost factors were crucial, in that the exhaustiveness with which trends of results were analyzed and interpreted was necessarily limited by the allotted project completion time, and of course, the cost of computer machine time and related services.

Because questionnaires varied in format and item structure, the statistical analysis was somewhat different for each questionnaire format. The main statistical procedures used in the analysis of results are outlined below:

(a) Percentage Comparisons

In those questionnaires where it was appropriate to do so,

a contrast was made of the percentages of French and English Canadians who agreed with each statement contained in those questionnaires.

(b) Intercorrelation of Items

In those questionnaires where it was appropriate, statistical correlations were computed between the responses of each questionnaire item and each other one. This was done in order to determine which sub-sets of items of the total set constituted the best, or most precise "core" attitude scale. The resultant item sub-set was then used as a brief "thumbnail" measurement of a particular attitude and comparisons between the two ethnic groups were made as indicated above.

(c) Contrasts of Arithmetic Means and Standard Deviation

In all of the questionnaires, the average or mean responses of the groups on each item, as well as the variation of responses over the answer categories of the items (Standard Deviations) were computed. One reason for the use of these statistical techniques is that the statistical level of significance of difference in responses between groups on any question could easily and with minimum expense be obtained from the computer. In addition, the arithmetic mean was a simple and useful index to describe over-all differences between the two groups to combine clusters or sub-sets of items. The specific statistical procedures used in the analysis of each attitude dimension are outlined more fully in the technical section of this report.

Chapter IV

Organizational Goals

In this chapter, two dimensions of organizational goals are dealt with: the evaluation of specific industrial goals and the perceived conflict between the pursuit of these goals and other personal goals in life. For each of these dimensions in turn, the rationale is discussed, followed by the statement and development of the research hypothesis. Descriptions of the specific techniques of measurement as well as the methods of analysis employed are then outlined. The presentation of research results follows, accompanied by a discussion and summary of the research findings.

Objectives and General Design

The aim of this phase of the research was two-fold. First, research was directed toward a set of common, general goals characteristic of Canadian industrial organizations, and toward a contrast of the degree to which the two ethnic groups which constitute our sample endorse, support or accept them. More specifically, the focus has been upon similarities and differences in the ways in which the two groups have judged certain organizational goals to be more important or more worthy than other ones for an organization to pursue. Secondly, our aim was to search out and study variations between the two ethnic groups with regard to their reactions toward certain important personal conflicts that most managers experience at one time or another during the span of their careers -- conflicts between the demands of organizational membership and: (1) family life, (2) individual identity and autonomy, and (3) the role of the individual as a contributing member

of society. We felt that these three would be the "sharpest" points of conflict which could be felt by the managers of any large enterprise, in their efforts to integrate the values that are of personal significance to them in other realms of life with the goals of that enterprise. The importance of studying both the evaluation and conflict facets of attitudes toward organizational goals has been given considerable attention elsewhere (see Introduction, pages 7 to 10 inclusive).

The Evaluation of Goals

(A) Rationale

Let us consider for a moment the first objective. We felt that it was an essential task to select a set of relevant industrial goals which would be specific enough to be meaningful to members of the sample, yet would be general enough to apply to all or virtually all industrial organizations. Thus, one might find a goal such as: "To extend our market into Western Canada" easily interpreted and meaningful, yet not general enough to encompass all of the enterprises in our selected sample of companies. The criterion of exhaustiveness could not be overlooked either. For example, one could hardly decide to leave out of the set a vital industrial goal, at least, not without having a compelling reason for doing so. On the other hand, to have included all of the goals that all industrial organizations might consider important would have made the questionnaire completely unwieldy. We considered it essential also to include in the set of goals ones which would

be of particular significance to one or the other ethnic group, even though such goals might not have been recognized in the current literature on organization theory as being particularly significant or meaningful.

The organizational goals selected for the study were divided into two groups -- those related to the economic realm, and those related to the social-humanitarian realm. Though many alternative groupings or dichotomies of organizational goals are possible, a contrast of the economic to the social roles of industrial organizations was considered to be a primary differentiating feature of French Canadian and English Canadian attitudes. We have listed below the goal statements within these two value systems or sets which were finally selected.

Economic Set

- "(a) Progressively take a greater share of the market.
- (b) Provide a good service to the customer.
- (c) To raise, from year to year, the level of production of the company.
- (d) Provide the customer with a good quality product.
- (e) Make a good profit."

Social-Humanitarian Set

- "(a) To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, in order to make them more productive at work.
- (b) To provide good working conditions and a good standard of living for the employees.
- (c) To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, with a view to making them happier at work.
- (d) To participate actively in the development of social, educational and religious institutions or organizations of the region.
- (e) To reduce unemployment."

The five economic goals listed above are those which are traditionally accepted as the primary economic goals of most large industrial enterprises in Canada, and which best represent the traditional economic value system. One can see by scanning the social-humanitarian set of goals that this value system contains a rather broad range of social-humanitarian considerations. Statement (a) is to a large extent related to the economic function since the ultimate objective is to increase production. It is the least social-humanitarian of the five in that the consideration of others, though valued, is explicitly subordinated to the economic function in a means-end relationship.

Statement (b) on the other hand, is more people-oriented since it is somewhat more altruistic in aim than goal (a), but the consideration of others is limited to the attendance of the physical and economic needs of people. Statement (c) would show the greatest degree of altruism in relation to the satisfaction of people's needs within the work environment. The last two statements, however, are oriented toward the external environment of the firm and are specifically community-welfare oriented, being concerned with the welfare of social institutions and society at large. It should be noted here also that statement (e) of the social-humanitarian set is not a goal which is usually singled out as particularly salient in large industrial organizations. It was included because of its particular significance to the French Canadian culture, and thus its relevance for contrasting the two ethnic groups.

The two questions which immediately come to mind are how

each of these two ethnic groups view these two sets of goals and whether or not there are any distinct differences between the two groups regarding their respective evaluations of these goals.

In order to assess with as much precision as possible the feelings of both groups relative to these two value systems, it was deemed important to obtain three different kinds of data. Although the methodology involved will be explained in detail in a later section of this chapter, these three types of information are outlined below and related to general research hypotheses.

The first type of information which was considered essential was to obtain data that would establish whether or not each ethnic group leaned toward, or identified more with, one value system or set of goals than the other and, if so, to what extent. Briefly, this was accomplished by asking each individual to consider all possible alternatives involving the choice between an economic goal and a social-humanitarian one and to indicate his decision relative to which of the two goals he would consider to be more important to pursue. It is important to realize that this does not provide any information relative to the individual's preference between two economic goals or between two social goals, but it does however permit a direct comparison of over-all preferences for one set of goals (economic or social) over the other set.

The first general hypothesis suggested by the use of this type of information is set forth as follows:

Hypothesis I: When asked to choose between economic and social-humanitarian goals, English Canadian managers would be more inclined to value economic goals, while French Canadian managers would be more inclined to endorse social-humanitarian goals.

There are many lines of research evidence to support this hypothesis, but it will be sufficient here to mention a few of the relevant ones. Since the Canadian industrial system is dominated by Anglo-Saxon philosophy and practice, it was felt that the French Canadian response would be, generally speaking, more at variance with, and the English Canadian response more in congruity with the traditionally-established economic goals of industrial organizations -- those which organize and structure the activities of any organization at all levels. For example, Hughes (1943) has stressed the fact that the cause for French Canadian rejection of powerful economic institutions, and the slow development of large French Canadian-owned enterprises, must be found deep within the core of attitudes that this group develops early in life toward economic matters, particularly during the stage in life when career expectations are being formed. He rejects the notion that the slow pace of economic growth in the French Canadian sector of the economy is due simply to the shortage of available capital because of the dominance of agriculture in the Province, pointing to the fast growth of Franco-American-owned industry in New England, which started on the same kind of agricultural base.

It is also well-documented that the entrepreneurial spirit is a dominant characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon while French Canadians have been trained in the home and in school to value service in the church, professions and government, and to consider less valuable a career in a large corporation (Naegele, 1961). It has been shown that sons of French Canadian businessmen have received little support and encouragement to pursue a career in business (Roussel, 1961), while the English Canadian has undergone a long period of education and indoctrination which has developed in him the image that corporate life, while no "bed of roses", is nevertheless worth aiming for, both economically and socially. Consequently, it would be reasonable to expect to find some disparity between the two groups with respect to how they value economic goals in contrast to the non-economic or social goals of industry.

Another related point of interest was to obtain information on the relative preferences for each goal statement including preferences for one economic goal over another and for one social-humanitarian goal over another, the question in this case being: To what extent would the two ethnic groups differ in their evaluation of the whole range of organizational goals? It was of interest to know, whether the two ethnic groups would rank all ten goal statements in essentially the same order of priority or not. The judgment of the relative importance of all of the goals would, of course, involve the combination of comparisons both within and also between the economic and social-humanitarian sets. With respect to the evaluation of all of the organizational goals, the second general hypothesis may be stated as follows:

Hypothesis II: French Canadian and English Canadian managers would have a tendency to show more agreement than disagreement in their rankings of the ten organizational goals in terms of priority ordering.

Since both ethnic groups work within the same general environment -- large industrial settings -- and in fact are often colleagues within the same organizations, one would not expect to find vast differences between them in the relative priority they attach to all of the ten goals. Indeed, if their orientations toward a large set of goals in an enterprise were radically different, coordination between members of these two ethnic groups would be next to impossible. However, some important differences in evaluation of the whole set of ten goals were expected, since, as explicitly stated in Hypothesis I, there would be a tendency for French Canadian managers to favour the social-humanitarian goals over the economic ones, and the reverse tendency was expected for English Canadian managers. In short, those differences found in evaluations of the total set of ten organizational goals would in all likelihood be attributable to their differing perceptions of the relative worth of a few economic goals when compared to a few social-humanitarian goals.

A third and final point of interest then, in the analysis of goal evaluations, was in obtaining further information on each goal statement. It was considered important to determine not only the average priority ordering assigned by members of both ethnic groups to the ten organizational goals, but in addition, to gain some knowledge about the strength of feeling each group would have relative to the priority

level assigned to each goal statement. It should be recalled that the analysis of the choices of both groups to the economic and social-humanitarian goals, each taken as a grouping or set of five goals, provided an indication of the strength of feeling each ethnic group would have toward each of these two types taken as a complete set of five. The index previously described did not, however, provide such information on each particular goal in itself. On the other hand, the average rank assigned to a goal, while providing specific information on each particular goal when compared to each other goal, did not indicate the degree to which a particular group endorsed a particular goal, i.e. the group's strength of feeling toward that goal. It is indeed conceivable that the two ethnic groups could agree on the rank of a goal, but that one group would feel more strongly about it than would the other group.

In conformity with general Hypothesis II, the following prediction was made:

Hypothesis IIA: Even in those instances where the same priority is assigned to a particular goal statement by both ethnic groups, English Canadians, as a group, feel more strongly about, or value more intensely, each economic goal than do French Canadians, as a group, while the reverse would be true for each social-humanitarian goal -- French Canadians, as a group, feel more strongly toward each of these latter goals.

To illustrate this point, an analogy might be in order. Two geographical groups (A and B), may agree on the nomination of a political party candidate over several others, yet the one group (A), may vote unanimously for him, while the other one (B) may also vote him in, but by a

very slight majority. Similarly, both groups might agree on the least suitable candidate, in that both groups gave him the least number of votes among the slate of candidates, yet one group (A), could conceivably have given him more votes than did group (B). In this latter case, of course, it could be said that group (B) showed greater consensus in rejecting this candidate than group (A) showed, or that group (A), as a group, felt more positively toward this latter candidate than did group (B), as a group.

The strength of feeling of a group about the value of a particular goal may then be defined in terms of the group level of endorsement of that goal, that is, the number of times that this particular goal was preferred over other goals by each and every member of the group, and the higher the level of endorsement, the greater the consensus in that group regarding the acceptance of that goal as an important one, while conversely, the lower the level of endorsement, the greater the consensus in rejecting that goal as being an important one. This third aspect of goal evaluation was considered an important one then, since, as previously indicated, it could well be that French Canadian and English Canadian groups might show marked similarities in the priority ordering of the goals, yet as a group, differ in the intensity of feeling relative to these priorities.

(B) Measurement Techniques Employed

The ideal method for measuring goal comparisons would have been to use a complete paired comparison format. Indeed, it offers several advantages. As the name of this technique implies, every item (goal statement) is compared to every other item (goal statement). The indi-

vidual answering the questionnaire is required to choose one of the two statements in each pair presented. This procedure thus would provide a realistic simulation of the kinds of choices which are actually made by business leaders in the process of organization goal-setting, and would likewise provide relatively precise information, because it forces the individual to respond on an item-by-item comparison basis. However, it was considered essential to keep an already long and exhaustive set of questionnaires within reasonable time limits required for answering them, and thus to economize on questionnaire length as much as possible. The use of the complete paired comparison format would have resulted in a long questionnaire, requiring the utilization of forty-five comparisons or pairs of statements.

Since our main concern was to know whether a group valued an economic goal as opposed to a social-humanitarian goal rather than, for instance, a particular economic goal as opposed to another economic goal, it was felt that the questionnaire could be shortened considerably by using the paired comparison technique only to compare goal statements in the one set (economic goals) with those in the other set (social-humanitarian goals), thereby reducing the total number of comparisons to twenty-seven (five economic goal statements by five social-humanitarian goal statements). As will be discussed later, a different method, (the ranking technique for questions 26 and 27), was employed to provide additional information with regard to comparisons within the two sets of goals.

The questionnaire utilized (Questionnaire 2) is shown in Appendix Q , pages 8-10. In questions one to twenty-five of the questionnaire, every statement referring to economic goals is compared to every statement referring to social-humanitarian goals, (but the goal statements within these two separate sets of goals are not compared to each other). Each individual answering the questionnaire chooses one of the two statements in each pair according to the choice criterion outlined in the instructions (the goal which a company should consider to be the most important to pursue), making a total of twenty-five choices.

Let us next look at the method used to derive indices which would indicate in quantitative terms the degree to which economic goals tended to be chosen over social-humanitarian goals, or vice versa, by the two ethnic groups. As previously stated, five economic goal statements are each compared to each of five social-humanitarian goal statements. Therefore, the maximum number of times that a particular goal statement in one set could be chosen over the goal statements in the other set is five and the maximum number of times that one set of goal statements (say, economic) could be chosen over the other set (say, social-humanitarian) by any individual answering the questionnaire would be twenty-five (five by five). It was considered that the most direct and precise way to reveal choice tendencies for large numbers of individuals in each ethnic group would be to show the average or mean number of times economic goal statements were preferred over social-

humanitarian ones (or vice versa), by each ethnic group. For convenience sake, economic goals were arbitrarily taken as the point of reference, since any knowledge obtained about one set of goals automatically provided the same information on the other set of goals by a process of subtraction. Indeed, since the total number of choices is twenty-five, if it were known that an individual preferred an economic goal to a social-humanitarian goal fifteen times, then by simple subtraction one would also know that this individual would have preferred a social-humanitarian goal to an economic goal ten times. The index used was then: the mean number of times (out of a maximum twenty-five possible) that economic goal statements were chosen over social-humanitarian goal statements by members of each ethnic group.

There are several ways in which arithmetic means may be used in the analysis of the research data. The way in which means are used depends upon the research question under consideration. The first research question which was of interest was whether cultural differences exist between the two ethnic groups in their evaluation of organizational goals. More specifically, the question was: When economic and social goals are considered, do English Canadian managers value economic goals more than do French Canadian managers, do the two ethnic groups value economic goals to about the same extent, or do French Canadian managers value economic goals more than do English Canadian managers?

One method which immediately suggests itself in dealing with such a question is to compare the mean number of times that the total

French Canadian group chose economic over social goals to the mean number of times that the total English Canadian group chose the economic goals in preference to the social-humanitarian set. However, as it was pointed out in "Chapter III" (p. 93), in cross-cultural studies such as this one, the use of an over-all mean has a major disadvantage in that it provides only a measure of gross, over-all differences in choice between the two ethnic groups, a difference which could be due to the occurrence of a very large difference within one level in one company only, to systematic differences within only one organizational level across companies, or to systematic differences found to exist at various levels of one type of organization only, either service or non-service. In order for one to conclude that differences between the two groups were due to the cultural characteristics of the two groups, it would be reasonable to expect differences to occur consistently, that is, over a significant number of companies and levels, and not simply be a result of large differences that could be attributed to only one particular type of organization, one level of management, or one individual company. What was needed then was the use of a statistical design which, in addition to indicating whether or not gross, over-all differences in means between the two ethnic groups were significant would, at the same time, determine the extent to which an over-all difference, if it was found, existed in the various companies studied at all levels. The "sign test"¹ was found to be the most appropriate statistic to use for this purpose.

¹ For a description of this statistic and its uses, see Appendix A , page 3 .

In order to answer the first question then, English Canadian managers were taken as the reference group and the number of times across organizational levels that the mean choice of economic goals for this group exceeded the mean choice of the French Canadian management group was noted and the sign test statistic was employed to determine whether a statistically significant trend of differences existed, in addition to indicating whether the over-all difference in means was significant. The focus here was, as stated, upon the consistency of the trend of differences between means in the direction of the English Canadian group having greater mean choices, regardless of whether these differences were large or small at any one particular level.

If the trend was found to be significant, the next point of interest was to determine at what particular organizational levels within companies the mean choices of English Canadian managers for economic goals was greater than the mean choices of French Canadian managers by large and important amounts. The statistical significance of the differences between the mean choices of the two ethnic groups was computed for each organizational level within each company with the use of the "confidence-interval test"¹. To recapitulate, the sign test was employed to determine the significance of the trend of differences which might exist between the two ethnic groups, and the confidence-interval test was employed to determine whether, (if such a trend of differences existed) the means of the English Canadian group exceeded the means of the French Canadian group by particularly large and important amounts at certain organizational

¹ For a description of this statistical test and its use, see Appendix A , page 4.

levels within companies. One may now frame the general hypothesis (hypothesis I) stated earlier in the chapter, as a more specific research hypothesis:

Hypothesis IA: English Canadian managers value economic goals more than do French Canadian managers.

It might be well to remind the reader that this hypothesis could have been stated in another, but equivalent, way. That is, the prediction equivalent to the one stated above would be that French Canadian managers value social-humanitarian goals more than do English Canadian managers, since as indicated previously, in each of the twenty-five choices to be made it was necessary to choose either one or the other of the two types of goals. For example, in a table of mean choices, if out of twenty-five possible choices which could be made, one noted that the English Canadian group at a particular level in one of the companies had a mean choice of fifteen in favour of economic goals, and the French Canadian mean was only nine, this result would be in the predicted direction (English Canadians favouring economic goals more than would French Canadians). However, this result would at the same time indicate (by a simple process of subtraction) that the French Canadian group chose social-humanitarian goals sixteen times (out of twenty-five possible), and the English Canadian group would, of course, have chosen social-humanitarian goals only nine times, indicating that the French Canadian group favoured social-humanitarian goals more than did the English Canadian group. However, as it has been pointed above, it was convenient

to take economic goals as the point of reference, and therefore the data are expressed in these terms in the results. Hypothesis 1A has thus been stated in a way consistent with this already-established procedure.

The second research question which was of interest concerns the way in which the English Canadian management group would value organizational goals. In specific terms, the question here was: When economic and social-humanitarian goals are considered, do English Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, value economic goals over social-humanitarian goals, do they show no clear preference, or do they value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones? Although this question would at first glance seem to be similar to the first research question posed, it is in fact quite different in that answers to it could yield information of a different kind that would nevertheless be pertinent to the general hypothesis being tested. That is, research results might indicate that English Canadians value economic goals more so than do French Canadians, thus providing an answer to the first research question, while it might at the same time also be true that English Canadians really value economic goals very little (in which case French Canadians would value them even less). In short, it was of interest to know not only how the two groups compared relative to each other in their evaluation of economic goals, but also whether English Canadians would, as an ethnic group, strongly value economic goals over social-humanitarian ones, or vice versa.

In order to answer this question, a system was employed which compared the actual choices of the English Canadian group to the choices which this group would make if each set of goals were considered of equal importance. That is, if one considers a mean choice of 12.5 for the English Canadian group at any level of any company to indicate neutrality of choice, (since the maximum number of choices possible for one set of goals over the other was twenty-five, and the minimum possible was zero), then it is possible to determine the English Canadian trend of preferences toward economic goals by counting the number of times across the fifteen organizational levels within companies that the mean choice of economic over social-humanitarian goals exceeds 12.5. This procedure was followed and the sign test was employed to determine whether or not any statistically significant trend of choice in the direction of favouring economic goals was in evidence. The second specific research hypothesis may then be stated:

Hypothesis IB: English Canadian managers significantly value economic goals over social-humanitarian goals.

The third question to which attention was directed was the matter of the goal evaluations of the French Canadian group, the question here being: When economic and social-humanitarian goals are considered, do French Canadian managers value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones, do they show no clear preference, or do they value economic goals over social-humanitarian ones?

It should be noted again that, as mentioned previously, this

question is not a duplicate of the first research question posed. In dealing with this question a mean of 12.5 was again taken to indicate neutrality of choice, and the same analysis used in dealing with the second research question was employed here. The third specific hypothesis may now be stated:

Hypothesis IC: French Canadian managers significantly value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones.

The results of the analysis of data relevant to all of the hypotheses stated here are to be found on pages 145 to 155 inclusive in this chapter.

Turning next to the derivation of indices which would express differences between the two ethnic groups in the way in which they ranked in order of importance each of the ten organizational goals, it should be noted first that this additional information was provided with the use of questions 26 and 27 of Questionnaire 2. In these questions, the individual is required to rank order goal statements in terms of the same criterion used in the paired comparison questions, but in this case, the goal statements are ranked internally, that is, rank orders are assigned by the individual to each of the set of economic goals, and separately, to each of the set of social-humanitarian goals.

The following method was used to derive indices for comparing the two ethnic groups in their evaluation of the ten goals. First of all, the rank order assigned to each goal statement in questions 26 and 27 was

transformed to number of choices. For example, if a rank order of 1 had been assigned by a manager to a goal statement, such as: "Provide a good service to the customer" (question 26, statement b), this rank was transformed to its equivalent, 4 choices, since within the set of economic goals listed in this question, a rank of 1 meant that this goal was chosen over the four other goals in the economic set. Likewise, a rank of 2 was transformed to 3 choices (since again, this goal had been chosen over three others in the set of five), a rank of 3 was in the same manner transformed to 2 choices, a rank of 4 was transformed to 1 choice, and a rank of 5 transformed to 0 choice, since having been ranked last in the set of goals, it would not have been chosen over any of the other four.

The rank orders for each of the ten organizational goals (five economic ones in Question 26 and the five social-humanitarian ones in Question 27) were transformed into the equivalent number of choices, as outlined above, for each manager in this study. Thus any particular goal could vary from zero to four choices depending upon the individual's preferences. These choices for a given goal were then combined with the choices made by the individual when comparing the goals in the paired comparisons format comprising the first twenty-five questions of the questionnaire on goals.

It will be recalled that in the previous analysis, data were obtained on the preferences between the two sets of goals by asking a manager to compare each of the five economic goals to each of the five social-humanitarian ones and to choose the one he preferred for each pair

of statements. Thus, for a particular goal, the number of choices it could receive from any individual could vary from a maximum of five to a minimum of zero, indicating that the goal, say an economic one, was at best chosen over every social-humanitarian one, or at worse, never picked when compared to a social-humanitarian one. For each goal, then, two preference indices were available from each manager. The first, based on data obtained from Questions 26 and 27, could vary from zero to four choices. The second, based on the answers to question 1 to 25 inclusive, could vary from 0 to 5 choices. By simply adding the two indices, the total number of choices for any particular goal could vary from zero to nine for each individual.

Since, with regard to the priorities assigned to these goals, one would normally expect to find substantial differences between levels and types of organizations, it was felt that the results should be presented separately for each of the five following groupings: (1) level 1 managers of the Non-Service organizations, (2) level 1 managers of the Service organizations, (3) level 2 managers of the Non-Service organizations, (4) level 2 managers of the Service organizations and (5) level 3 managers of all organizations combined¹.

For each of the ten goals, the total number of times it was chosen over the nine others was averaged over all of the managers of each ethnic group belonging to each of these five distinct groupings. Within

1

This fifth grouping combined both types of organizations due to the small number of French Canadian managers at level 3.

each grouping, the goal receiving the highest average number of choices for the French Canadian groups was given rank 1 in that group, the second highest, rank 2 and so on down to the goal with the lowest average, which obviously received a rank of 10. This procedure was repeated for the corresponding English Canadian group. Then, within each grouping, the two sets of rank orders of the ten goal statements, one set representing the way in which French Canadian managers ranked the relative worth of the ten goals, the other set representing the English Canadian ranking, were then intercorrelated, using the rank-difference correlation "tau"¹. This was done in order to show quantitatively the extent to which the two ethnic groups would rank the ten goal statements similarly or differently, and therefore to learn the extent of differences in their evaluation of organizational goals, if in fact, any differences were to be found. In both service and non-service organizations, attention was directed toward comparisons between the two ethnic groups in their rank ordering of the ten organizational goals. This was done at the lower, middle and higher organizational levels separately. In addition, contrasts between the three organizational levels were made for each of the two groups. The results of these rankings are reported on pages 155 to 211 inclusive in this chapter.

With respect to the third point of interest -- the strength or intensity of feeling that the two ethnic groups would have for each goal in relation to the priority that each group assigned each of the organizational goals, the following procedure was employed. Intensity or strength

¹ For a discussion of this statistic, see Appendix A page 4.

of feeling for each goal was operationally defined as the mean number of times the members of a particular ethnic group actually chose each individual goal. The researchers took the position that the greater the mean choice of an organizational goal by a group, the greater the level of endorsement of that goal, the greater the acceptance of that goal as an important one relative to the other goals compared, and therefore the greater the intensity of group feeling toward the worth of that goal. It should be remembered that this mean or average level of endorsement can vary from a maximum of nine to a minimum of zero.

Taking each economic goal separately, the number of times that the mean choice of English Canadians was larger than the mean choices of French Canadians was counted across levels within each company. The sign test was then applied to this data to determine whether or not English Canadian managers felt significantly more strongly about each economic goal than did French Canadian managers. Then, in the same way, each social-humanitarian goal was taken separately, and the number of times that the mean choice of the French Canadian group exceeded that of the English Canadian group for each of these goals was counted across all levels and companies, and the sign test again applied to determine whether French Canadians felt significantly more intensely or strongly about social-humanitarian goals than did their English Canadian colleagues. The results of these analyses are reported on pages 211 to 232 inclusive in this chapter.

Goal Conflict

(A) Rationale

Turning to the second research objective in the study of organizational goals -- the analysis of goal conflict -- the main interest here was directed toward the degree of conflict which both ethnic groups perceived to exist between organizational goals and the goals of personal significance to them in other realms of life. It is possible to differentiate many different types of conflict experienced by people in the industrial world and possible also to sort out and study many different forms of conflict which are inherent in one's occupational role. However, it was felt that the three major conflict areas chosen, namely: family, individual, and society, would be important and central conflict areas in Canadian society as a whole, but particularly, they were seen as important in terms of their relevance for a study in which the attitudes of French Canadian and English Canadian managers were contrasted. The additional attitude areas studied, namely: personal gain and ethnic identity, while not directly related to conflict per se, were viewed as associated with it, and were considered of significance in a contrast of the attitudes of the two ethnic groups toward life in large organizations. The broad definitions of these three major and two minor conflict areas, along with a discussion of them, are outlined below.

(1) Family:

The degree to which the managerial role in an industrial enterprise is compatible or incompatible with the attainment of healthy and harmonious familial relationships -- with respect to spouse, children, and the general welfare of the family. (statements ¹ 11, 16, 18, 20, 26, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 48, 50, 52, 55 and 58).

The potential conflict between the managerial and the familial roles of the married male in society is one which has very broad dimensions, encompassing marital happiness or discord, successful or unsuccessful child-rearing, and the stability or instability of the family as a primary group. The central theme in this conflict area is the fact that the individual, both as a male head of the family and as an incumbent of a position of managerial responsibility in a large organization, has the obligation to create and maintain a climate which fosters the growth and development of those around him in both situations. He must therefore face the problem of optimizing his time and attention between individuals in the workplace for whose development he is responsible, and members of his family, whose welfare and personal growth should also be of deep concern to him.

The important question to the researchers was whether this optimizing could be achieved by one of the two ethnic groups with less perceived conflict than would be the case with the other ethnic group.

¹ The statements numbered, as indicated in the questionnaire, are those which were selected for inclusion in this particular conflict area, and are shown in Appendix Q pages 11-13.

In other words, does one group perceive these two roles to be more compatible than the other ethnic group? There is, in fact, some evidence that the Anglo-Saxon more readily integrates family life and organization life, and while the two systems (family and enterprise) may compete for his time and attention and cause some strain (especially in management positions), nevertheless because of the greater acceptance of large industrial organizations in the society in which he grew up, the English Canadian may well be able to minimize this conflict to a greater extent than can the French Canadian. For example, in a recent study of family-occupation role conflict conducted in the United States, Dyer (1964) showed with empirical evidence that the two systems, family and organization, were in fact closely "interlocked" in the mind of the educated American. He showed that the general satisfaction of children and spouse with the family situation influenced, and in turn was influenced by, the success and satisfaction of the father in his occupational role.

In the study of this conflict area then, statements were chosen which were felt to be sensitive to cultural differences and would tap attitudes toward several, rather than one aspect of this type of conflict, thereby giving as wide as possible a coverage of this vital area within the limits imposed on time and the length of the questionnaire. A large number of statements were included which concerned the general welfare of the family as it is affected by the manager's commitment to his role in an organization. These were statements 11, 16, 37, 39, 41, 50, 55

and 58. For example, statement 11 concerns the neglect of the family which results when one advances in a large company. A second, smaller group of statements concerns the effect on the children of the father's commitment to organizational goals. These were statements 20, 32, 43 and 52. An example here is statement 52 which concerns the life adjustment of businessmen's children. Two statements, numbers 26 and 48, deal with husband-wife marital harmony, while a fourth grouping of statements has to do with the way married and single men should be treated in industry (statements 18, 34 and 45). Finally, one statement 31, was related to centering the organization of family life around the manager's role in industry.

(2) Individual:

The degree to which organizational membership at managerial levels is compatible or incompatible with the individual's feelings of self-respect, identity and autonomy. (Statements 17, 21, 23, 27, 30, 35, 38, 40, 44, 46, 51 and 57).

This type of conflict was of interest to the researchers because of the rather widely-held belief in North American society that life in a large organization inflicts on the individual at least some "cost" in terms of his freedom of action and his sense of personal identity. Whyte (1956) and Reisman (1951) have highlighted this problem in fairly recent writings, and have stressed the fact that the drift of the manager toward conformity and loss of individualism has been on the increase in the last decade or so because of the trend toward the bureau-

cratization of large corporations. While these observations may have some credence, it is significant that few if any studies have dealt directly with individuals' experience or perception of loss of individualism, particularly at managerial levels. In fact, Sayles (1963) points out that while the potential for conflict between individual autonomy and organizational demands may exist, it has been over-emphasized by observers of the industrial scene that in fact Sayles notes that executives in business commonly discover that they can actually enhance their freedom in a large corporation (in contrast to a small company) because in large economic units, control must of necessity be de-centralized, allowing the lower-level manager a surprising amount of autonomy. Though it is probably true that in any society, the individual who works in a large complex organization may at times feel "lost" and indistinguishable, it may well be that French Canadians would feel this conflict between his own identity and autonomy and the goals of an enterprise more keenly than would his English Canadian counterpart. The English Canadian's greater acceptance of corporate life, his positive response to the "team-work" appeal so common in industrial organizations, and (as pointed out by Sayles) the possibility of his finding enough within his own particular part of the industrial concern, may dispose him less toward conflict than the French Canadian group who tends to value industrial life less, (Hughes, 1943), (Roussel, 1961) and the majority of whose members work in organizations dominated by members of another ethnic group.

In this aspect of goal conflict, a broad array of statements were selected. Briefly, these statements refer to the individual's

ideals, prestige and self-respect (statements 17, 21, 27 and 44), to the loss (or maintenance) of individuality and freedom (statements 38 and 40), to the exploitation and loss of self-worth of the individual (statements 23, 30, 35, 46 and 57), and to industry as a source of satisfaction for the individual (statement 51).

(3) Society:

The degree to which membership at various levels of an organization is compatible or incompatible with the individual's role as a contributing member of society (statements 12, 13, 19, 25, 29, 36, 47, 53, 54 and 56).

The relationship between industry and society, particularly the individual's perception of conflict between the role of the enterprise and society's welfare and enhancement, was also considered a crucial attitude domain to be studied. The fact that this is an important concern in society is attested by the observation that a significant part of our legal system is designed to "protect" society from the encroachments of large corporations on the welfare and rights of society's members, as well as the fact that individual corporations, in defence of their mission, frequently spend large sums of money on advertising and publicity having the theme that the corporate good is also society's good. The individual employed in a large company is, of course, caught up at least to some degree in this potential conflict because as a citizen he has obligations and loyalties to society, yet as a corporate member, he is required to commit his efforts and time to the pursuit of production goals. The major interest of the researchers was, as with the

other conflict areas studied, whether or not English Canadian and French Canadian managers would differ in the degree to which each perceives conflict between industrial life and the welfare of society. Particularly significant in this ethnic contrast is the general Protestant ethic outlook of the English Canadian, with his tendency to view corporate health and expansion as the key to a progressive society, matched against the French Canadian's purported social conscience and his mistrust of concentrated economic power under private control. The statements chosen for this conflict area concern: the conflict between businessmen's pursuit of material gain and the welfare of society (statements 12, 29 and 54), the role of industry in society's development (statements 13, 19, 25 and 36), industry's role in the alleviation of economic want (statements 53 and 56), and the conflict between industry and the cultural development of society (statement 47).

(4) Personal Gain:

The attitude toward those who are motivated by monetary gain in their work (statements 14, 22, 28, 42, 49 and 59).

This attitude area was of some additional interest to the researchers because it was felt that attitudes toward money, and particularly toward those who pursue and value the acquisition of financial rewards, may well be a factor underlying the conflict (or absence of it) experienced by the individual in his relationship to the enterprise. Though financial gain plays some part in the reward system of most institutions in society, it is safe to say that it plays its most dominant

role in industrial enterprises, where the goal of greater profit pursued by the enterprise, and the acquisition of higher personal incomes by its members, are viewed by the leaders of the enterprise as closely-related and quite justifiable pursuits. Consequently, a distaste for money-making and a negative image of money-seekers on the part of a member of a business organization would likely negatively affect his attitude toward life in that organization and would likely intensify conflicts he experienced as a member of it. On the other hand, personal conflict would likely be experienced less by a member of the organization who highly valued personal gain or who favoured and trusted others who pursued it.

It might well be that these views of personal gain would differentiate the two ethnic groups, with the French Canadian manager tending toward the negative view and the English Canadian manager leaning toward the positive view of personal gain. Certainly, the entrepreneurial spirit still lies at the core of Anglo-Saxon management ideology, and for those in management positions particularly, an increase in disposable income is considered a primary reward for risk-taking and productive performance. This view may be even stronger now than in the past, according to observers such as Bendix (1956) and Fromm (1941) because more and more, our economy is becoming consumer-oriented rather than production-oriented, and the "good life" which money provides may be now sought more intensively by larger and larger numbers of Anglo-Saxons. In contrast, the vigorous pursuit of financial gain (as well as the organizational goal of profit) seems to have had rather limited appeal to members of French

Canadian society, who have tended to seek security and the honor of public, professional or religious service -- valuing these rewards higher than purely financial ones.

The questionnaire statements chosen for this attitude domain have almost exclusive reference to the desirable or undesirable personal qualities of those who seek or have gained financial rewards. Statements 22, 28, 42, 49 and 59 refer to the selfishness, reliability, and honesty of those motivated by money, while statement 14, which is less concerned with personal qualities as such, deals with the legitimacy of investment profit.

(5) Ethnic Identity:

The attitude toward the loss of cultural identity of French Canadians in their roles as managers of large industrial organization (statements 15, 24 and 33).

With reference to this attitude area, it was of interest to know to what extent, if any, French Canadian managers perceived that the "price" of success and achievement in companies managed predominantly by English Canadians is some loss of their ethnic identity, and to what extent there was agreement or disagreement between the two ethnic groups on this matter of French Canadian ethnic identity. The rather marked systematizing of procedures and practices designed to facilitate the achievement of goals is a major characteristic of large industrial organizations, and is no doubt one of the chief reasons for

their success in North America. However, these desired uniformities in ways of achieving corporate goals are understandably not designed to accommodate minority views, that is, views and ways of doing things which differ from those defined by organization leaders for the whole work force. It is reasonable to suppose that while no direct or immediate pressure may be brought to bear on those who deviate in outlook and practice, nevertheless the minority, or those who hold a minority view, will be expected, over time, to accept and adopt the methods and practices recommended by the majority group. Indeed, this acceptance and adoption could be perceived to be the price of success in the organization. It is therefore reasonable to expect that French Canadians, working in a predominantly English Canadian industrial milieu may feel that their progress and achievement depend at least to some extent on the degree to which they give up their differences which stem from deeply-rooted attitudes toward industry and "fall in line" with policies and practices formulated for English Canadian organizations. The three items which were used in the questionnaire were thus designed to assess the degree to which members of management belonging to both ethnic groups viewed the loss of ethnic identity as a price paid by French Canadian managers for success in companies. Statement 15 refers to the loss of language experienced by French Canadians, while Statements 24 and 33 refer, respectively, to the protection of English Canadian interests, and loss of cultural identity on the part of successful French Canadians.

Having described all of the areas of conflict considered, one

research question of major importance, and two questions of lesser importance present themselves:

(1) Does one ethnic group experience conflict between organizational goals and goals of personal significance to them in other aspects of life, namely: Family, Individual and Society, to a greater extent than does the other ethnic group?

(2) Does one ethnic group view with more disfavour than does the other ethnic group those who primarily seek private financial gain?

(3) Do French Canadians who work in English Canadian organizations experience a feeling of alienation or loss of cultural identity, and do English Canadians also believe that French Canadians experience this loss?

The third general hypothesis of this chapter, in the study of organizational goals, may be stated as follows:

Hypothesis III: French Canadian managers would have a greater tendency than would English Canadian managers to experience conflict between organizational goals and goals of personal significance to them in other aspects of life, and would have a more negative attitude than would English Canadian managers toward those who seek private financial gain.¹

It would seem reasonable to suppose that those who more readily accept industrial life as natural and good would perceive industrial

¹ A prediction of the attitudes of the two ethnic groups toward "Ethnic Identity" was not included in Hypothesis III. Because of the rather "touchy" nature of this attitude domain, and because no relevant research findings with respect to it were available, efforts were directed only toward determining whether an attitude trend did exist, rather than predicting what particular pattern of attitude would be revealed.

goals to be more in harmony with other goals of life. Previous studies would suggest that these people would more likely be English Canadians. The observations of Dyer (1964), Sayles (1963), Bendix (1956) and Fromm (1941) previously cited, would tend to support this prediction. On the other hand, members of an ethnic group who have been indoctrinated in the view that humanitarian, service and professional careers are most worthy would tend to view private enterprise aims to be in disparity with individual and social aims. The previously-mentioned studies of Hughes (1943), Naegle (1961), and Roussel (1961) would indicate that these people would more likely be French Canadians.

B. Measurement Techniques Employed

The questionnaire utilized for the measurement of goal conflict is shown in Appendix Q, pages 11-13 where the first 49 items (items 11 to 59 inclusive) of Questionnaire 3 are included to cover this aspect of organizational goals. It can be seen here that an eight point scale of agreement-disagreement is used in the measurement of conflict attitudes. As the directions indicate, the individual is required to judge whether or not he agrees or disagrees with each statement, then to indicate the extent or degree of his agreement or disagreement by circling the appropriate scale number (1 to 8), as explained in the directions on page 11 of Appendix Q.

This particular form of the scale employed for the conflict statements has two characteristics which make it somewhat different

from the usual scale form employed in attitude measurement. First, it provides the reader with an opportunity to initially make an over-all judgment in terms of whether he agrees or disagrees with the statement and then to refine his judgment by indicating the extent to which he agrees or disagrees with the statement on the basis of four categories of response. Thus, it provides for a rather broad range of responses (eight scale positions for each statement), in contrast to the narrower range (five scale positions) employed in the most frequently used type of attitude scale, thereby providing information on many possible "shades" of opinion which might exist among managers in the sample. It is interesting to note that some authors, such as Gulliksen, H. (1958) and Lapointe & Auclair (1961), have found that the use of a scale with a broad range of points (up to 14) constitutes a more statistically sound approach to attitude assessment than one with a narrower range or few scale positions.

Secondly, the scale employed does not include the traditional neutral point, that is, does not use a "neither agree nor disagree" or "undecided" scale position. The scale format used here is thus based upon the assumption that few if any people would be entirely indifferent to questions concerning something as important as one's work and career. Some support is given this assumption by Peak (1955), who points out that the concept of attitude implies a positive or negative orientation toward things, people or events, and complete neutrality of attitude is not really justified conceptually.

It can be seen that both positive and negative statements are used (that is, statements describing the existence of conflict are included along with statements describing harmony or lack of conflict). This "mixing" of positive and negative statement wordings in the questionnaire was done to prevent the individual from biasing his answers in one direction (positive or negative) by forcing him to consider each statement carefully and singly, rather than to respond automatically. Similarly, rather than presenting the groups of statements measuring family, individual, society (etc)., in sequence, the statements for these conflict areas were mixed, that is, presented in roughly random order in the questionnaire, so that a statement referring to family conflict would immediately follow one on say, society or individual conflict. This mixed presentation of statements was again done for the purpose of discouraging stereotyped responses to sets of similar items and to encourage the individual to judge each statement independently of the others.

Let us now consider the methods employed to derive indices which would indicate quantitatively the major differences between the two ethnic groups on goal conflict. As outlined in "Chapter III", pages 95 and 96, it was considered necessary to utilize a general index which would show major trends of differences between the two groups in each conflict area, rather than to rely exclusively on a statement-by-statement analysis of each conflict. The important first step then, was to identify and group together all of those conflict statements

which best measured each particular aspect of conflict (family, individual, etc..), and to compare the responses of the two ethnic groups on this core scale. Since the derivation of this core scale was an analysis method employed both in the examination of conflict and in the examination of attitudes toward management, which follows in a later chapter, the method of deriving and utilizing the core scale is outlined here in some detail.

In attitude scale development, one of the usual procedures used in deriving a core or representative scale is simply to compute correlations between each attitude statement and each other one, and those statements which show the strongest intercorrelations among the total set of statements are used as the core scale, representing best that attitude dimension. While this procedure was substantially the one followed in this study, one very important problem had to be dealt with: the fact that the responses of two separate ethnic groups were to be compared on the same attitude questionnaire. Hence it was necessary to derive, for each conflict area, a core scale which would have the same conceptual meaning for both English Canadian and French Canadian managers, that is, a set of statements which would tap for both ethnic groups, a common dimension of meaning in terms of each of the conflict areas studied. It was indeed conceivable that because of their quite different backgrounds, resulting in different modes of thinking and patterns of experience, the two groups could attach somewhat different connotations to some of the same statements in a conflict

area, even though the language translation of these items may have been near-perfect. To illustrate with a hypothetical example, suppose that one were to use a questionnaire to compare the two ethnic groups on the dimension need achievement and the questionnaire which was employed contained, along with other items or statements, the four listed below:

- (A) Work is the most important thing in life.
- (B) People should never waste time in idleness.
- (C) One should take the initiative in organizing tasks.
- (D) One should never be late for work.

If these four statements actually measured need achievement, for the French Canadian culture, one would expect all four of them to be intercorrelated for that culture. Suppose, however, that out of these four statements, it was found that statements A, B and C were intercorrelated among the French Canadian group who answered them, while statement D was not related to the three other ones. This would mean that for the French Canadian group, statement D, (referring to "never being late for work"), would not be measuring need achievement while the other three statements would be measuring this dimension.

The same line of reasoning would apply to the English Canadian group. If these four statements actually measured need achievement, for the English Canadian culture, again one would expect all four of these to be intercorrelated for that culture. But, suppose that for the same four statements, statements B, C and D were found to be intercorrelated

among the English Canadian group, while statement A was not intercorrelated with these other three. This would mean that for the English Canadian group, statement A, which concerns the importance of work in life, would not be related to need achievement, while the interrelated statements B, C and D would be measuring it.

Thus, the concept of need achievement would, in fact, be different for the two ethnic groups. For the French Canadian group, the concept of need achievement would encompass attitudes toward work as the most important thing in life (Statement A), wasting time in idleness (Statement B), and task initiative (Statement C), but being late for work (Statement D), would not be related to it. On the other hand, the English Canadian conception of need achievement would include lateness for work in addition to statements B and C, but would not include the importance of work in life (Statement A), since it is not related to the other three statements.

Although this is a hypothetical example, results such as these are far from being inconceivable. Indeed, one would expect members of the two ethnic groups to express need achievement in somewhat different ways, that is, one would expect them to value different forms of achievement, because of the dissimilar types of education and child-rearing experienced by the two groups within their respective culture. With regard to this particular dimension of human needs, McClelland (1961) has thoroughly documented the fact that while achievement is a

need common to all cultures, its particular form varies considerably from culture to culture.

It would be well to point out that one can compare the two groups in terms of their feeling with respect to a particular dimension (such as achievement, for example), only to the extent that the dimension has the same meaning for the two groups, that is, that comparisons are being made on the same variable. To continue the analogy discussed in the previous paragraphs, we could not compare the two ethnic groups using these four statements, since for the French Canadian group, achievement means, essentially, statements A, B and C, while for the English Canadian group, it means statements B, C and D. It can readily be seen though, that those statements which have a common meaning to both ethnic groups with respect to achievement, are statements B and C -- the statements which were interrelated for both French Canadian and English Canadian groups. Hence, one would compare the two ethnic groups on their responses to these two statements (B and C), statements which had a common meaning of achievement for both groups. Statements A and D, would likely be of interest because they would be illustrative of the different connotations each group attached to these aspects of achievement. It would indeed be of interest to know that lateness for work is part of need achievement for English Canadians (but not for French Canadians), while the reverse would be true for Statement A. However, these two statements (A and D) could never be used as part of a scale to compare quantitatively the two groups.

For these reasons, the core scales (that is, the scales of common meaning) were derived from the responses of the two groups to each of the conflict areas studied in the manner described above. This was done by computing a product-moment correlation matrix for the responses of the French Canadian managers, and a separate correlation matrix for the responses of the English Canadian managers, that is, every statement in each conflict area was intercorrelated with every other statement for the French Canadian group, and the same was done for the English Canadian group. Those statements which were found to be intercorrelated for the French Canadian group as well as for the English Canadian group in each conflict area, were used as the core scale (or scale of common meaning) for each of the conflict areas studied¹.

Those statements in each conflict area which were interrelated for the French Canadian group but not for the English Canadian group, and those which were interrelated for the English Canadian group but not for the French Canadian group, were considered of interest (as items A and D would be in the hypothetical need achievement example outlined above), for the simple reason that they provided information on the different conceptual meanings the two groups attached to the conflict areas studied. Consequently, those statements were interpreted as one phase of the analysis of conflict.

¹ For further details on the methodology employed, the reader is referred to Appendix L .

A statement which showed little or no relationship with the great majority of other statements was eliminated from the study since it apparently had little or no related meaning with regard to the various factors of interest in this study.

To show differences between the two ethnic groups in their perception of the compatibility or incompatibility between organizational goals and other goals of life, the arithmetic means of the responses of each ethnic group over all the statements in each of the core scales were computed.

So that the reader may more easily interpret the results, a word should be said here about the way in which scores were derived for each individual. A special problem was posed by the fact that the set of statements in each conflict area was composed of a mixture of both positive and negative statements (as previously indicated on page 135 of this chapter. Turning to Questionnaire 3, page 11 of Appendix Q , it can be seen that statement 11 is a negative one, in the sense that it refers to the existence of conflict or incompatibility between family welfare and getting ahead in a large company. Hence, the individual who expresses the highest degree of conflict would circle the number 8, representing the "completely agree" scale position. A person who expressed the lowest degree of conflict would, of course, circle number 1, and so on.

However, on a positive statement, such as, for example, sta-

tement 13 (which expresses compatibility or lack of conflict, in the sense that productivity and the greatness of a country are stated as compatible) just the opposite would be true. A high degree of conflict would be indicated by circling a low number, such as 1 or 2 on the scale, while a low degree of conflict would be indicated by circling a high scale position, such as 7 or 8.

In order to solve this problem, the scale numbering system for the positive or compatible types of statements (such as statement 13) were left as they are shown in the questionnaire, so that a high score would indicate high compatibility or low conflict for any individual answering it. However, the scale positions were reversed (for computation purposes) on the negative or incompatible types of statements (such as statement 11), so that the lowest scale position, such as 1 (indicating low conflict or high compatibility) was counted as 8, and of course, the highest scale position, 8, was counted as 1. In the same manner, the scale position 2 was counted as 7, 3 as 6, and so on to make a complete reversal. In this way, the scoring of positive and negative statements were made uniform for ease of computation and interpretation. Consequently, it should be emphasized here that the lower the mean score on any conflict dimension, the higher the degree of perceived conflict that is indicated, or conversely, the higher the mean score, the greater the degree of compatibility and therefore the less perceived conflict.

The fact that the various scales utilized did not contain the same number of statements created another problem in that it would be difficult to compare, for the interested reader, results from one scale to that of another, since the maximum score on any one scale is a direct function of the total number of statements. It would also be difficult to interpret the degree of feeling of a group on any particular scale expressed by the mean score without constantly keeping in mind the theoretically maximum score possible on that scale, a maximum score which, as previously mentioned, varies from scale to scale. To avoid such confusion, the theoretically maximum scores of all scales were adjusted in such a way that they would all be equal to ten and all scores on all scales were then corrected or transformed accordingly. Thus a uniform interpretation of means could be made, using ten as the highest possible score and zero as the lowest possible score on all scales¹.

The first question posed in the analysis of conflict was: To what extent does one ethnic group differ consistently from the other ethnic group with respect to the degree of conflict or perceived incompatibility between organizational goals and goals of personal significance to individual members in other realms of life, namely: family, individual and society? In order to answer this question, the identical procedure used in the analysis of goal evaluation, (see page of this chapter) was employed again here, that is, the sign test was employed to determine the significance of trends of differences between the means of the two ethnic groups over organ-

¹ For a more detailed report of this transformation, the reader is referred to Appendix A , page A.6 .

izational levels in the companies.

The second research question posed was: Within which organizational levels in the companies do differences of large and important magnitude occur between the two ethnic groups in these conflict areas? To answer this question, the statistical significance of the differences in means between the two groups at each organizational level was in each company computed with the use of the confidence interval test. These data would thus show in which levels and companies large differences between the two ethnic groups in perceived conflict would occur for each conflict area.

Finally, the percentages of members of each ethnic group who agreed or disagreed with the conflict statements were computed, so that those individual conflict statements which accounted for significant differences between the means of the two groups could be identified and highlighted.

Research Results

The Evaluation of Goals

As described earlier in this chapter, research was directed toward determining answers to four questions and testing three hypotheses, concerning respectively, whether English Canadians would value economic goals more than would French Canadians, at what levels and companies these differences (if they were found) were large and important, whether English Canadians would value economic goals over social-humanitarian

ones, and finally whether French Canadians, as an ethnic group, would value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones. Following this, rank order correlations were to be computed between the rankings of English Canadian and French Canadian managers with respect to the ten organizational goals to determine the extent of differences or similarities in their evaluation of the total set of 10 goals. The analysis was concluded by comparing each individual goal to each of the nine other ones, the main number of choices of the two ethnic groups being directed toward these goals.

(A) Preference for Value Systems:

Economic Versus Social-Humanitarian Goals

Table 1 shows the distribution of the mean number of times an economic goal is chosen over a social-humanitarian goal for each ethnic group by company and organizational levels within companies. Considering all organizational levels from which sufficient data could be obtained in the sample of companies, fifteen comparisons can be made between the two ethnic groups. The reader is reminded that the maximum number of choices that any individual could possibly assign to the economic over the social-humanitarian sets of goals would be twenty-five (five economic by five social-humanitarian) and, of course, the minimum possible number of choices of economic over social-humanitarian goals would be zero.

Considering the first research question -- whether English Canadian managers value economic goals more than do French Canadian managers -- the reader may refer to Table 1 and count the number of times

Table 4.1 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times Economic Goals Are Chosen Over Social-Humanitarian Goals by French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(97)	15.1	(35)	17.3*		
C ₁	EC	(79)	16.6	(83)	19.7		
C ₃	FC	(118)	13.0	(77)	17.3		
C ₃	EC	(84)	13.6	(71)	18.8		
C ₁₀	FC	(72)	14.0	(21)	17.5		
C ₁₀	EC	(123)	15.2	(88)	18.1		
C ₄	FC	(144)	12.5*	(110)	15.8*	(6)	11.2*
C ₄	EC	(149)	14.3	(172)	17.5	(61)	19.6
C ₅	FC	(136)	10.9*	(43)	16.6*		
C ₅	EC	(243)	12.9	(91)	19.6		
C ₂	FC	(281)	11.0*	(234)	14.5*	(16)	17.3
C ₉	EC	(78)	12.7	(109)	16.1	(28)	18.1
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	-	-	(20)	20.4
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	-	-	(99)	20.5

* Indicates a significant difference between the means beyond the .03 level of confidence.

across organizational levels that the mean choice of economic goals for the English Canadian group exceeded the mean choice of the French Canadian group. It can be seen here that in every one of the fifteen organizational levels, the means of the English Canadian group exceed those of the French Canadian group. When the sign test is applied to this result, it is found to be statistically significant at the .05 level of confidence (using a one-tailed test of the confidence limits)¹. One may conclude from this research finding that, since English Canadian managers favoured economic goals more than did French Canadian managers over all levels in companies surveyed without any exception, this result provides strong evidence that a cultural difference does exist between the two ethnic groups in their evaluation of the goals of industrial enterprises. Research hypothesis IA is thus supported: English Canadian managers value economic goals significantly more than do French Canadian managers (and, conversely, French Canadian managers value social-humanitarian goals more than do English Canadian managers).

Having established this first research finding, the second question for consideration was whether the mean choices of English Canadians exceeded the mean choices of French Canadians by large and important amounts at particular organizational levels within companies. Table 2 shows the results of the application of the confidence interval test to the difference between the means of the two ethnic groups at all levels.

¹ The reader is referred to Appendix A for an explanation of the choice of levels of statistical significance.

Table 4.2 - Distribution of the Confidence Intervals for the Mean Number of Times Economic Goals Are Chosen Over Social-Humanitarian Goals by French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(97) 14.3 15.9	(35) 16.1 18.6*	
C ₁	EC	(79) 15.7 17.5	(83) 19.0 20.3	
C ₃	FC	(118) 12.3 13.8	(77) 16.4 18.1	
C ₃	EC	(84) 12.8 14.5	(71) 17.8 19.7	
C ₁₀	FC	(72) 13.1 15.0	(21) 16.0 19.0	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 14.5 16.0	(88) 17.3 18.9	
C ₄	FC	(144) 11.7 13.2*	(110) 15.0 16.6* (6) 9.1 13.2*	
C ₄	EC	(149) 13.6 14.9	(172) 16.9 18.0 (61) 18.8 20.3	
C ₅	FC	(136) 10.2 11.7*	(43) 15.3 18.0*	
C ₅	EC	(243) 12.4 13.4	(91) 18.8 20.4	
C ₂	FC	(281) 10.4 11.5*	(234) 13.9 15.1* (16) 15.6 18.9	
C ₉	EC	(78) 11.7 13.6	(109) 15.3 16.8 (28) 16.9 19.3	
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	- - -	- - - (20) 19.2 21.6	
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	- - -	- - - (99) 20.0 21.0	

* This table is included in the text to familiarize the reader with the use of confidence intervals. Hereafter, such tables will not be included in this report. All IBM data sheets have been deposited at the Industrial Psychology Center, University of Montreal, where they may be seen by the interested reader.

It can be seen that in over half of the cases, more precisely at eight out of a total of fifteen organizational levels, differences of statistically significant magnitude (at the .01 level of confidence) are found between the means of the two groups (all, of course, in the direction of larger means for the English Canadian group). It is interesting to note here that significantly large differences exist at all three levels in one company (company 4). In addition, the English Canadian mean exceeds that of the French Canadian mean by a significantly large amount in one of three cases at level 3 or Top Management, in four of the six cases at level 2 or Middle Management, and in three of the six cases for level 1 or Lower Management. Thus differences of large and important magnitude do occur at various levels in the companies.

The next consideration was the third research question: whether or not English Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, significantly value economic goals over social-humanitarian ones. As described previously in this chapter, the analysis strategy used in investigating this question was to count the number of times across the fifteen levels in the companies, that the means for the English Canadian management groups exceeded 12.5 (the neutral "choice point"), and to employ the sign test to determine whether or not a statistical trend of choice was indicated. Turning again to Table 1, it can be seen that the means for the English Canadian groups exceed 12.5 in every one of the fifteen groups considered. This trend is found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence (using a one-tailed test of confidence limits), with the application of the

sign test. This result indicates that consistently across companies and levels within companies, English Canadian managers value economic goals above social-humanitarian goals. Research hypothesis IB, which predicted that the English Canadian management group would significantly value economic goals over social-humanitarian ones, is thus supported.

The fourth research question may now be considered: whether or not French Canadian managers would, as an ethnic group, value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones. In considering this question, the same procedure is used here as was used in investigating the third research question. That is, a mean of 12.5 choices is taken as the neutral choice point. The reader is reminded though that since the data in Table 1 are expressed as the number of times economic goals were chosen over social-humanitarian ones, one must count the number of times the means fall below the 12.5 neutral point to determine the number of times social-humanitarian goals were chosen over economic goals¹. When this count is made across levels, only four of the fifteen means is less than 12.5. Application of the sign test indicates that this result is not statistically significant, indicating that the French Canadian managers do not value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones. When inspecting this result, one may wonder if, in fact, the opposite trend of choice would be in evidence, since French Canadian managers actually value economic goals over social-humanitarian ones in eleven out of fifteen cases. Applying

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This point is discussed more thoroughly on page 116 of this chapter.

again the sign test, one finds that this result is not a statistically significant one at the .05 level. Thus, no significant trend is found in either direction of choice, and one is led to conclude that French Canadians do not, to a significant extent, value one type of organizational goal over the other. Hence, hypothesis IC which predicted that the French Canadian management group would, as an ethnic group, significantly value social-humanitarian goals over economic ones, is not supported, using this particular method of analysis.

These results could be due to the fact that the French Canadian culture only now is awakening to the importance of industrial expansion in their province. As pointed out in "Chapter 1", (page 5) French Canadians are no longer indifferent to industrial activity and are, in fact, in the process of developing an advanced industrial society. The government policies in the province are now geared closely to economic concerns such as nationalization, and to the capitalization of private industry so that French Canadians would be encouraged to invest, manage or otherwise participate in the economic growth of the province. It could be, in short, that the present attitudes of French Canadian managers reflect the transitional stage of French Canadian society, in which values are shifting from primarily humanitarian considerations to more economic concerns.

At the present time then, it would appear that while the English Canadians value system regarding organizational goals, is to a large extent infused with economic considerations, that of the French Canadians

consists of a mixture of both economic and social-humanitarian considerations, sufficiently well blended together to warrant the statement that neither one clearly takes precedence over the other.

The wide gap presently existing between these two ethnic value-systems is illustrated by the fact that, for the English Canadian group the over-all mean choice is 16.3, while that of the French Canadian group is only 13.7. This difference of 2.6 (on a 25 point scale) is a highly significant one indicating that both groups are actually quite far apart in their conceptualization of organizational goals.

Another indication of the relative intensity or strength with which the two ethnic groups endorsed economic goals can be seen by arbitrarily defining a high mean choice in this Table to be 19 (which would, of course, indicate that on the average individuals faced with the 25 choices would choose an economic goal 19 times and a social-humanitarian goal only 6 times). It can be seen that the English Canadian groups reached or surpassed this strong level of endorsement of economic goals at six of the fifteen of the organizational levels, while a mean of this level or higher occurs only once among the French Canadian groups, (in level 3 of combined companies 1, 3, 10 and 5). This gives a very rough but pertinent indication of the English Canadian manager's relatively strong endorsement of economic goals, in contrast to the much more limited endorsement given by the French Canadian group. Further comments will be made about this strength of choice later in this chapter, when the choice patterns of the two ethnic groups relative to all ten organizational goals will be dealt with.

A final rather interesting side issue to the main research results reported above may be considered briefly here. Again referring to Table 1, if one counts the number of times that the mean choices of economic goals is greater in magnitude at each successively higher level in the companies studied, an interesting trend is revealed. Out of a total of sixteen comparisons possible (that is, comparing the mean of the lower organizational level for both ethnic groups to the mean of the next highest level for both groups in each company, resulting in a total of sixteen possible comparisons)¹, it can be noted that fifteen show the higher level to have a greater mean than the next lowest level. In only one case, Company 4, between levels 2 and 3 for the French Canadian group does the mean of the higher level not exceed that of the lower level. In short, the means of higher levels exceed those at lower levels in eight of the inter-comparisons for the English Canadian groups and in seven of the eight for the French Canadian groups.

Application of the sign test to these results reveals that this trend is a statistically significant one at the .05 level of confidence (using a two-tailed test of confidence limits). The reader may note that in many cases, the differences in means between levels for both ethnic groups are quite substantial, particularly between levels 1 and 2. In six cases out of the total of twelve comparisons between these two levels, the differences are five points or more. The smallest differ-

¹ The two level 3 means of combined companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 are excluded from this comparison since they cannot be meaningfully contrasted to the means of level 2 within each individual company.

ence is 3.8 in company 4 for the English Canadian group. It can thus be concluded that the higher the organizational level, the greater the importance attached by managers to the purely economic objectives of that organization, and the less concern there is for social-humanitarian objectives. Conversely, the lower the level of authority, the greater the importance attached to social-humanitarian goals and the less the concern for economic ones.

Though more than one interpretation of this trend is possible, one could surmise that the higher one's position is in an organization, the more one would necessarily be exposed to and concerned about such matters as economic planning and profit, and the less one would be in touch with day-to-day personnel matters. Conversely, the lower one's position in the management hierarchy, the more direct and immediate would be the exposure to problems of employee welfare and satisfaction, with issues such as capital expansion and profit tending to be quite remote from one's daily preoccupations and responsibilities.

In summary, English Canadian managers value economic goals significantly more than do French Canadian managers, and, as a cultural group, they consider these economic goals to be of much greater importance than social-humanitarian goals, while French Canadian managers do not.

(B) Rankings of Organizational Goals

Let us next turn to an analysis of data concerning each particular goal of the ten presented in the survey. It should be recalled here that interest was directed toward the priorities assigned to each of the ten goals. The general method employed here was to rank, for each ethnic group, the mean choices of each of the ten goals in each of the five groupings previously described in the methodology section on page 117 of this report. Then, again within each of these five groupings a rank-order correlation (tau) was computed to show the relationship between these two over-all ethnic rank orderings.

Table 3 shows the rank orderings of means for the first grouping -- level 1 managers of the Non-Service organizations. Because the ten goals will be referred to frequently in the many tables which follow in this phase of organizational goal analysis, they are listed according to alphabetical designation below, and will hereafter be referred to by letter. The economic goals are designated by the first five letters of the alphabet (A to E), while the social-humanitarian goals are represented by the succeeding five letters (F to J).

- (A) "Progressively take a greater share of the market.
- (B) Provide a good service to the customer.
- (C) To raise, from year to year, the level of production of the company.
- (D) Provide the customer with a good quality product.
- (E) Make a good profit."

- (F) "To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, in order to make them more productive at work.
- (G) To provide good working conditions and a good standard of living for the employees.
- (H) To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, with a view to making them happier at work.
- (I) To participate actively in the development of social, educational and religious institutions or organizations of the region.
- (J) To reduce unemployment."

It can be noted first in Table 3 that there is a good deal of over-all agreement between the two sets of ranks. The tau correlation between the French Canadian and English Canadian ranks was found to be .82. Closer inspection of the ranks reveal that the two ethnic groups of managers at the first level in Non-Service organizations agree in their orderings of the goals ranked first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and tenth. Thus, they agree on the priorities they assign to the most important goal, D , and on the three considered least important, A, J. and I.

However, despite this high over-all agreement between the two groups, several interesting discrepancies or differences in ordering did occur, the importance of which cannot be underestimated in terms of their impact on the functional relationships between the two ethnic groups which could, in the long run, lead to serious communication problems.

Table 4.3 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French Canadians and English Canadians at the First Level of Management in Non-Service Organizations.

Goals	(1) French Canadians Rank	(2) English Canadians Rank	(3) Difference
A	8	8	0
B	3	2	1 [*]
C	6	6	0
D	1	1	0
E	7	5	2 [*]
F	2	3	1 ^{**}
G	4	4	0
H	5	7	2 ^{**}
I	10	10	0
J	9	9	0

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of English Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of French Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

Inspecting again the data in Table 3, it can be seen first that there is a difference of two ranks for two of the goals E and H. Goal E, which could well be considered to be the "most economic" in meaning and connotation of the five included in the set, was ranked higher by English Canadian managers, a finding which is in the predicted direction. It should be emphasized here that a rank difference of two should be considered an important one, in view of the fact that with ten goals, the maximum amount of rank difference possible is nine. Goal H, which could be considered to reflect best the social-humanitarian set, since it deals with the general happiness of employees at work, also shows this large difference of two ranks, again in the predicted direction -- French Canadians ranked it higher in priority than did English Canadians. It is of interest to note that the rank of one goal is "exchanged" with the rank of the other for the two ethnic groups in the sense that where the English Canadian management group ranked the "profit" goal, E, in fifth place, the French Canadian group placed goal H, the "happiness" goal. Conversely, whereas the English Canadian group ranked goal H seventh, the French Canadian group placed goal E in that rank position.

This predisposition of English Canadians for valuing more highly economic goals and the French Canadian group for favouring social-humanitarian ones is further emphasized by the fact that the two other goals which were ranked differently by the two groups again are reversed in the predicted direction. That is, where English Canadians ranked goal B, an economic objective, in second place, the French Canadian group placed F, a social-humanitarian goal, while conversely, the English

Canadian group ranked goal F in the third position and French Canadian group placed goal B in that position. To illustrate this pattern still further, column 3 of the table shows that for the set of economic goals, the total difference in rank position is three -- all in the direction of being assigned higher priority by English Canadians, while for the set of social-humanitarian goals, again a total of three rank differences occurred, with the French Canadian group favouring these more than did English Canadians.

One may also note that this difference in the frame of reference with which the two groups view goals is shown by the fact that the French Canadian group placed three social-humanitarian goals (F, G and H) among the top five in priority, and the same three social-humanitarian goals above the profit goal E. In contrast, the English Canadian group placed only two social-humanitarian goals (F and G) within the top five, while they placed the same two goals higher than goal E in priority. The implications for coordination and communication between managers in these two ethnic groups could, in the opinion of the researchers, be far-reaching. Although the general hypothesis (Hypothesis II), which predicted more agreement than disagreement, is supported, (since six of the ten goals were ranked similarly by the two groups, including the top one and the bottom three), nevertheless these implications merit further comments.

These results are, in the view of the researchers, important in terms of the communication barriers that they can conceivably create between the two groups. Indeed, from an attitudinal standpoint, one is

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. The third part of the paper discusses the limitations of the study and the areas for future research.

The study was conducted in a laboratory setting and the results were compared with those obtained in previous studies. The study found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies. The study also found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies. The study also found that the results were consistent with those obtained in previous studies.

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dealing here with two completely different frames of reference -- an economic one composed of five goals, and a social-humanitarian one, also composed of five goals. In this instance, two kinds of rank differences can occur. The first situation would be the one in which the differences in priority reflect a difference of opinion regarding the priority of two, three, or more goals within the same grouping -- either the economic or the social-humanitarian set. The important consideration in this instance is not the number of goals involved, but rather the fact that the ranks inter-changed involve goals within one frame of reference only, rather than an exchange of ranks involving goals from both frames of reference. The second situation would be precisely the one in which differences of opinion occur involving goals between the two frames of reference.

In other words, in the opinion of the researchers, it is one thing to discover that rank differences are due to the fact that, let us say, the French Canadian group ranked goal D fourth and goal B second, while the English group ranked these two economic goals in just the opposite manner -- B fourth and D second. It is quite another to find that the French Canadian group ranked goal D fourth and goal H second, while the English Canadian group ranked these two goals, one being an economic goal, the other being a social-humanitarian one, in just the opposite manner -- H fourth and D second.

In the former case, the communication barrier would be created by differences in viewpoint within a common value system, that is, the economic frame of preference. The divergence would then concern more

the "how" rather than the "what". That is, the individuals in this work situation might differ in their views of the importance of one particular economic consideration over another in some departmental decision, but they could still be in implicit agreement that economic considerations were more important than social-humanitarian ones. The greater the rank difference, the greater the barrier to communication, but the probability of this type of barrier becoming a serious communication problem is much smaller than would be the case in the type of communication barrier found in the second situation.

In this latter case, the communication barrier would be the result of a basic difference in value systems. The divergence here would concern more the what rather than the how. Two individuals in this case might differ in evaluating the importance of various considerations relating to a departmental decision, but here, the difference would reflect deeper disagreement, the one individual viewing social-humanitarian considerations as the major decision factor, the other strongly emphasizing the economic considerations involved in the decision. Since two basically different value systems are involved in this disagreement, a greater barrier to communication would thus be created in this latter case, when viewed from a psychological standpoint. In other words, a rank difference of two involving two economic goals or two social-humanitarian ones, is, from this psychological or attitudinal standpoint, a much weaker barrier than a difference of two ranks involving an economic and a social-humanitarian objective.

In reference to the data in Table 3, we have an example of this latter case, since, as described previously, the English Canadian management group ranked the profit goal E in fifth place, the French Canadian management group placed the happiness goal in that position, and whereas the English Canadian group ranked goal H seventh, the French Canadian group placed goal E in that rank position. In addition, where the English Canadian managers ranked goal B, an economic goal, second, the French Canadian managers placed goal F, a social-humanitarian one, whereas the English Canadian group placed goal F third, the French Canadian group placed goal B in that position. Referring to column 3 of Table 3, one could say that the ethnic groups are six units apart with respect to these two attitudinal frames of reference.

It is clear that the average English Canadian manager, as shown in Table 3, has a strong inclination toward an economic value system. He is more oriented toward an economic frame of reference in his thinking and behaviour. The French Canadian manager has a stronger leaning toward a social-humanitarian value system, i.e. his thinking and behaviour are being more influenced by a frame of reference which emphasizes the happiness and general welfare of people.

This being the case then, it is far from inconceivable that two individuals, one from each ethnic group, could both give the highest priority to a goal such as D (Provide a good quality product), as have, on the average, members of the two ethnic groups in this study, but for very different reasons. One individual could strive to ensure that the customer is provided with a quality product, being more influenced by the fact that

this factor contributes to the organization's profit (goal E), than being governed by reasons concerning the well-being of others (goal H). The second individual, on the other hand, could value the same factor, a quality product, but be swayed more by the social-humanitarian than by the economic aspects related to this factor. Subtle but serious misunderstandings could thus be created here because both individuals could easily be under the impression that they are in full accord on the essential goals of the enterprise (since, in this case, they agree that providing a good quality product is the most important goal, and also see eye to eye on the least important objectives -- goals A, J and I). Yet these two individuals would likely coordinate the work of their respective departments quite differently, the former stressing profit-mindedness in his area of responsibility, the latter putting more emphasis on the welfare and happiness of people. This possible illusion of agreement, yet actual basic disparity in aims, could cause considerable frustration and indeed, the problem could be more crucial the higher one goes in the management hierarchy, where the individual has a greater say in determining the policies that define the manner in which economic functioning relates to the human factor within the organization.

The really important point with respect to the differences described here is the fact that areas of explicit agreement between the two ethnic groups might well be allowed to mask and obscure the implicit disagreements, at this lower management level, where members of both groups would feel more interested in getting along with one another for

the good of the enterprise, since by the very nature of their limited responsibilities, they would be much less directly involved with these issues in the workplace. Yet, relatively unrecognized and unresolved disparities, those which run below the surface, could still be a source of diffused discomfort in the work situation to lower-level managers of both ethnic groups and eventually become a major source of conflict, confusion and bewilderment, at higher levels of management, as one receives or is considered for promotions within the hierarchy.

In the opinion of most experts in the field of management, this type of conflict simply cannot be tolerated at higher levels of responsibility, if the enterprise is to function effectively or even survive. It was with this view in mind that earlier in the present chapter, more agreement than disagreement was predicted between managers of the two ethnic groups in the priority they assigned to organizational goals. It would therefore be expected that the two groups at middle management levels and above would be in higher agreement than would those at the lowest level of management and that the reversals between the two ethnic groups involving the substitution of an economic goal for a social-humanitarian one or vice versa would tend to disappear.

Table 4 shows the priority rankings for managers of both ethnic groups at level 2 in the non-service organizations. It can be seen that almost total agreement exists between the two groups in the priorities they assigned the ten goals, and that the reversals of the type described

Table 4.4 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French
 Canadians and English Canadians at Level Two of
 Management in Non-Service Organizations.

Goals	(1) French Canadians Rank	(2) English Canadians Rank	(3) Difference
A	7	7	0
B	2	3	1
C	5	5	0
D	1	1	0
E	3	2	1*
F	4	4	0
G	6	6	0
H	8	8	0
I	9	9	0
J	10	10	0

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of English
 Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal.

above are non-existent at this level. Both groups agreed on the objectives ranked first, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth, and as one would expect, the correlation between the two rank orderings is almost perfect ($\tau .96$). It is interesting to note though, that the two groups show a discrepancy again (as at level 1) with regard to goal E, which English Canadians ranked second in importance, while French Canadians placed it in third place, and with regard to goal B, which is ranked second by French Canadians and third in priority by English Canadians. These two discrepancies in ordering, however, both occurred within the economic set of goals, that is, the ranks were interchanged within the same attitudinal frame of reference, in contrast to level 1, where the two groups exchanged goal ranks between the two frames of references (as discussed above at some length). Since the only difference noted is a rank difference of one regarding the service and profit goals, one would therefore expect to find considerably fewer communication barriers between the two groups at this middle level than at the first level of management. It would appear then that in moving up in the hierarchy, it is important for French and English Canadian managers to resolve in some way any differences they may have had, at the first level, regarding the relative importance of economic goals when contrasted to social-humanitarian ones.

In order to show the variations in priority rankings between the lower and middle levels of the hierarchy, Table 5 is presented which shows a contrast between the level 1 and level 2 priority orderings of

Table 4.5 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals: A Comparison Between Level 1 and Level 2 for both French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers in Non-Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Management Groups			E.C. Management Groups		
	Level 1	Level 2	Rank Diff.	Level 1	Level 2	Rank Diff.
A	8	7	1*	8	7	1*
B	3	2	1*	2	3	1
C	6	5	1*	6	5	1*
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	7	3	4*	5	2	3*
F	2	4	2**	3	4	1**
G	4	6	2**	4	6	2**
H	5	8	3**	7	8	1**
I	10	9	1	10	9	1
J	9	10	1**	9	10	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

both ethnic groups. It can be seen in this table that both level 2 groups assigned higher priority to economic goals than did the corresponding two groups at level 1. One could expect such a difference between lower and middle level managers, as previously noted in this chapter, since, at the higher level, strictly economic matters would be more central issues, and these managers would be involved in budget and financial matters to a greater degree than would managers at the more junior level. The really interesting thing about these findings however is the fact that this difference in goal orientation between level 1 and level 2 is much greater for the French Canadian than for the English Canadian group. Three trends of research results shown in Table 5 support this observation:

(1) For the French Canadian group, managers at the middle level, when compared to those at the lower level, gave a higher priority to four of the five economic goals, making a total of seven rank differences in the direction of higher priority. For the English Canadian group, managers at the middle level assigned a higher priority to three economic goals, for a total of only five rank differences between level 1 and level 2. Though one would expect that, as a manager moves upward in the hierarchy, he would be required to change his views about economic objectives, it is interesting to note here that the average French Canadian manager would be required to change them somewhat more than would his English Canadian colleague.

(2) For the French Canadian group, managers at level 2 placed four economic goals among the top five in priority, while those at the

first level, placed only two economic goals among the highest five. English Canadian managers at level 2 also ranked four economic goals among the five they considered most important, but managers at level 1 had placed three in that position. Thus, in comparing the top five rank orderings between level 1 and level 2 for French Canadians, two social-humanitarian goals have been "displaced" by two economic ones, while this level 1 to level 2 displacement of a social-humanitarian goal by an economic one, occurred only once for English Canadians -- further evidence of the greater inter-level shift toward economic goals among French Canadian than among English Canadian managers and of the greater attitudinal change in value system of the former group.

(3) When comparing the lower to the middle level, one can see for French Canadian managers a shift upward in priority of four ranks for the profit goal E, while for the English Canadian group, the inter-level shift of profit is upward by only three rank orders. With regard to this comparison, it could be said that an inter-level shift for the profit goal from seventh to third place, as has occurred for the French Canadian group, is a considerably more dramatic one than the shift from fifth to second place, as has happened for the English Canadian group. In the case of the French Canadian group, this shift upward would be a matter of valuing strongly at the second level a goal considered a relatively unimportant one at the first level. On the English Canadian side, however, the shift upward of profit would simply be a matter of the second level managers valuing more a goal already fairly highly valued by first level managers.

Turning next to the social-humanitarian goals, Table 5 shows that the managers of both ethnic groups at level 2 assigned to them lower priorities than did managers at level 1. Again, as with the general upward shift for economic goals outlined above, this trend is one which might be expected, since middle level management personnel would be a little less centrally involved in dealing with day-to-day employee problems, and with the welfare and happiness of the work force than would those at the first level of management. But once more, there is a greater difference between the two levels for French Canadian managers than there is among the English Canadian management group.

Evidence is shown for this by the fact that for the French Canadian group, managers at level 2, when compared to those at level 1, gave a lower priority to four social-humanitarian goals, for a total of eight rank differences. English Canadian managers at level 2 gave a lower priority to the same number of social-humanitarian goals (four), but the shift downward is only five rank differences.

When contrasting the two management levels for the whole set of ten organizational goals then, one can clearly see that rather marked differences exist between managers at different organizational levels, specifically, lower and middle management. However, one can see in the over-all comparison that the difference is greater for French Canadians than for English Canadians. If one takes the total shift in priority rankings as a gross index of level 1 to level 2 differences, then it can

be seen that the shift is fifteen rank positions for French Canadian managers, and only ten for English Canadian managers. It should be emphasized here that all of these changes are in the same direction -- higher priority for economic goals, lower priority for social-humanitarian ones.

The relationships between both levels of management that have been described can also be expressed in terms of an over-all quantitative index -- the tau correlation coefficient. For the French Canadian group, the value of tau which measures the amount of agreement between the two levels with respect to the rankings of the ten goals was found to be .60. For the English Canadian group, the value of tau was .74 -- a difference in inter-level agreement of 14 correlations points. For all practical purposes, this can be interpreted as reflecting 14% more agreement between the English Canadian managers of the two levels than between the French Canadian managers of the two levels.

Interpreting the results in terms of lack of agreement, this means, of course, that there was 14% more disagreement between the rank orders of French Canadians at level 1 and level 2 than between those of English Canadians at the two management levels. In effect, then, there was a wide gap for the French Canadian managers to bridge in moving from level 1 to level 2, specifically, 14% more attitude change to make than for the English Canadian group with regard to this orientation toward the goals of an enterprise.

Before terminating the analysis of these patterns of relationship, two other points merit consideration. The first one concerns intra-level comparisons, specifically, the degree of agreement and therefore the degree of rapport between both ethnic group at the same levels in the hierarchy, while the second concerns inter-level comparisons, that is, the degree of rapport of both groups between the two organizational levels, only this time comparing one of the two ethnic groups at the subordinate level with the other ethnic group at the superior level -- a cross-cultural comparison involving superior-subordinate relationships.

With respect to the first point, it will be remembered that this rapport between the two ethnic groups was considerably greater at middle management than at the lower level. Specifically, the tau correlation between the priority orderings of the two groups at level 1 was .82, while for level 2, it was .96, indicating 14% closer rapport (.96 minus .82), at this middle level, thereby creating a condition of free communication exchange between French Canadian and English Canadian managers at this level. The question which now arises is: "How does one account for this rather dramatic shift toward greater rapport as one moves from the lower to the middle management level?" Though it has already been noted that the French Canadian management group changes more from level 1 to level 2 than do English Canadians, it would be of interest to know whether their considerably greater rapport at level 2 is due mainly to the fact that French Canadian managers become more like their English Canadian counterparts in their views of organizational goals or perhaps in part vice versa (English Canadians shifting their views in the direc-

tion of those of French Canadians), or even perhaps that in the transition for the lower to the middle level, both ethnic groups change in the sense that they both adopt to some extent the viewpoint of the other.

In point of fact, the transition from lower to middle management is mainly expressed in terms of the French Canadian group moving toward the English Canadian view of objectives. It is clear that they adopt the Anglo-Saxon point of view much more than the other way around. This can be seen by referring back to Table 5 and examining more closely the organizational goals. One can see that for goal E the French Canadian ranking moved up in order of priority by four ranks, while the English Canadian movement upward was three ranks. This indicates that French Canadian managers changed more than did English Canadian managers, but what is more pertinent here, is the fact that the gap of two ranks which existed between them at level 1 (French Canadian rank 7, English Canadian rank 5), was narrowed by one rank order (French Canadian rank 3, English Canadian rank 2), in the direction of the English Canadian value system. What is meant here is that English Canadian managers at level 1 had ranked it among the top five in priority, thereby already incorporating it into their value system at that level, but for French Canadians, this goal was moved up in order of priority from the bottom five way into the top 5 from level 1 to level 2 -- in short, a trend in the direction of the English Canadian value system.

A similar pattern is seen for goal H, where the gap of three ranks existing between the two ethnic groups at level 1 (French Canadian rank 5, English Canadian rank 7) was reduced by two rank orders moving to the second level, (French Canadian rank 8, English Canadian rank 8), again in the direction of the English Canadian value system. That is, there was here, also, a trend among the French Canadian managers to adopt the English Canadian value system, since French Canadians had moved it from the top into the bottom five in priority going from level 1 to level 2, while both English Canadian groups had considered this goal to be of much lesser importance, that is, among the bottom five goals.

With regard to goal F, it can be seen here that the gap between the views of the two groups was once more narrowed by French Canadians in the direction of the English Canadian value system, since the shift was downward from rank 2 to rank 4 for French Canadians, and a drop from third to fourth place by English Canadians. While this shift by French Canadians was in the direction of the English Canadian tendency to rank social-humanitarian goals lower, it did not constitute a clear adoption of English Canadian values regarding goals, because both groups shifted the priority of goal F within the top five between the two levels.

This tendency of French Canadians to shift toward the English Canadian value system with respect to organizational goals could be at the origin of the general feeling among French Canadian managers that, in order to advance, they would have to become more English Canadian in their

thinking, a consideration which will be dealt with later in this chapter when discussing the Ethnic Identity conflict.

The final point of interest consisted of an examination of the relationship between French Canadian and English Canadian managers between the two levels, in short, to study the degree of inter-cultural rapport between lower and middle management. To deal with this issue, a tau correlation was computed between the priority orderings of French Canadian managers at the lower level with the orderings of English Canadian managers at the middle level. This tau was found to be .55, indicating a relatively low degree of agreement in ranks between levels, and therefore, a relatively low degree of inter-level rapport between these two ethnic groups. On the other hand, the tau between the rankings of English Canadians at level 1 and French Canadians at level 2 was .82, indicating a relatively high degree of rapport between the two ethnic groups at the two organizational levels. This finding is a somewhat surprising one, since it clearly means that a state of better rapport exists between a French Canadian superior and an English Canadian subordinate with respect to organizational goals than for a superior-subordinate pair consisting of an English Canadian superior and a French Canadian subordinate.

In order to explore these relationships further, the reader is referred to Table 6. These data show that the problems of communication and rapport between the English Canadian superior and the French Canadian

Table 4.6 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French Canadian (FC) Managers at Level 1 Compared to Those of English Canadian (EC) Managers at Level 2; and by English Canadian Managers at Level 1 Compared to Those of French Canadian Managers at Level 2 in Non-Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Level 1 Rank	E.C. Level 2 Rank	Rank Diff.	E.C. Level 1 Rank	F.C. Level 2 Rank	Rank Diff.
A	8	7	1*	8	7	1*
B	3	3	0	2	2	0
C	6	5	1*	6	5	1*
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	7	2	5*	5	3	2*
F	2	4	2**	3	4	1**
G	4	6	2**	4	6	2**
H	5	8	3**	7	8	1**
I	10	9	1	10	9	1
J	9	10	1**	9	10	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

subordinate seem to be a major one, while for the French Canadian superior and the English Canadian subordinate they appear to be relatively minor ones. For the former, large differences between the two levels occur for goals E, F, G, and H with a particularly large gap in their views of the importance of profit (E), and the happiness of others (H). In the latter case, differences of two ranks occur for goal E and goal G, but the remaining differences, where they occur, were relatively small ones -- one rank difference. An added observation could be made here that the rank differences for the French Canadians at level 1 and English Canadians at level 2 represent mainly a difference in value system, since goal E is ranked in the lower 5 by French Canadians but in the upper 5 by English Canadians, while goals H and G, social-humanitarian ones, are ranked in the top five by French Canadians, but in the lower 5 by English Canadians. In contrast, the level 1 English Canadians and level 2 French Canadians, when compared in rank ordering of goals, show only one difference in value system -- goal G which is among the top five for English Canadians and the lower five for French Canadians.

These latter considerations clearly indicate that the communication barrier is much greater in the former superior-subordinate relationship than in the latter one.

In order to summarize the pattern of relationships that have been discussed in this analysis of Non-Service organizations, Figure 1 is presented.

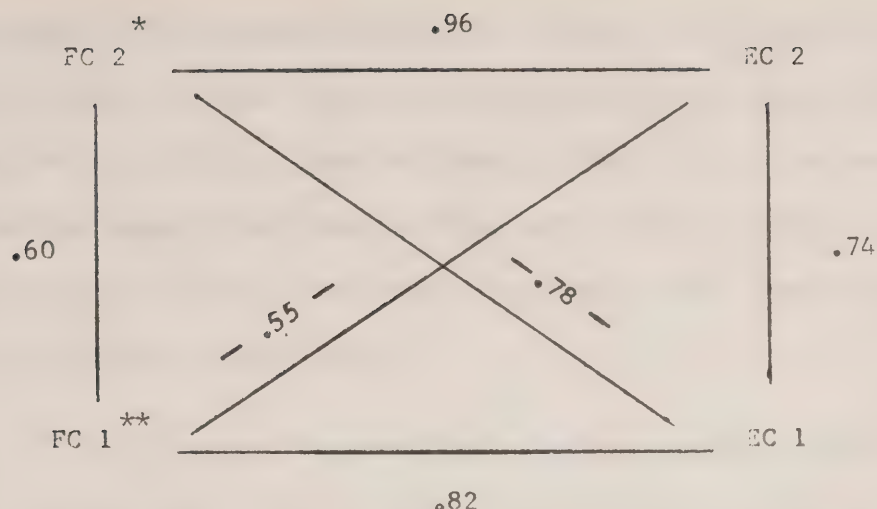


Fig. 4.1 - Tau Correlations Between Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals, Shown For French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Both Within and Between Organizational Levels One and Two in Non-Service Organizations.

* Refers to Level 2. ** Refers to Level 1.

It expresses these relationships in terms of the tau correlations dealt with previously. An examination of this configuration of tau correlations reveals, however, one further type of relationship which merits comments.

It can be seen that the EC 1 - EC 2 relationship is considerably stronger (tau = .74), than the FC 1 - EC 2 one (tau = .55). This would be expected since the two EC groups at these two different organizational levels, being members of the same culture, only differ in terms of management level, while the FC 1 and EC 2 groups differ in terms of both culture and organizational levels.

What is surprising in the configuration is the fact that the same pattern does not appear in the relationships among the FC 1, EC 1 and FC 2 groups. That is, French Canadians at lower management show much less

agreement with superiors who belong to their own culture ($\tau = .60$), than do their English Canadian colleagues at this lower level with these same French Canadian superiors ($\tau = .78$). In this pattern then, a state of better rapport and communication exist between a French Canadian superior and English Canadian subordinate than between this same superior and a French Canadian subordinate.

It can also be noted that the relationship between the EC 1 and EC 2 groups ($\tau = .74$) is not quite as strong as between the EC 1 and EC 1 groups ($\tau = .82$). That is, English Canadian managers show a little more agreement with their French Canadian colleagues at level 1 than they do with their English Canadian superiors in their views of organizational goals. This higher agreement between the two ethnic groups at the same level of management than between the two English groups (EC 1 and EC 2 groups) is very likely due to the pre-selection of these managers at level 1. That is, it is very probable that individuals who think more alike would be selected from the rank and file for positions at level 1, resulting in a relatively high degree of rapport between the two ethnic groups at this level. In the same way, this pre-selection was very likely at work between level 1 and level 2, resulting in extremely high agreement ($\tau = .96$) at this middle management level. If one were to examine the views of English Canadian and French Canadian employees below management levels, one would probably find that English Canadian employees would be more in agreement with their English Canadian superiors than with their French Canadian peers. Thus, organizational level membership

is, as well as cultural membership, a strong determinant of rapport between the two ethnic groups at the first as well as the second level of management, presumably due to this pre-selection factor.

Taking a broad view of this configuration, these interrelationships suggest the existence of a communication net involving FC 2, EC 2 and EC 1 groups. Indeed, these three groups show a much closer relationship among each other than does any other combination of three groups. The FC 1 group is obviously "outside" of this net, being much more estranged from the other group in their views of organizational goals. It is quite possible that the inclusion of the FC 2 group within this set is due to the functioning of the promotion system used. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of the orientation of non-service managers toward goals, the strong disagreement in views on such important matters as the objectives of an organization could not be tolerated by organizational leaders if the enterprise is to survive. It is extremely likely then, that managers recruited from the lower ranks for middle management positions have been screened so that those candidates, whose value system is in basic agreement with those of middle management, would be selected for posts at the middle level. Those who are in less agreement and rapport with the middle management viewpoint could be, in effect, prevented from moving up into the middle of the hierarchy.

In the opinion of the researchers, the communication net described above has three major repercussions on the relationships among the

management group involved. First, it would appear that the average English Canadian manager at the lower level of the hierarchy is in a much more advantageous position than his French Canadian peers in terms of being considered for a promotion to a middle management position. Indeed, the English Canadian is clearly in better rapport with his superiors, has established a higher level of mutual understanding with them on work objectives, and is, because of this closer relationship, in a better position to benefit from their knowledge and experience. The important point here is that the English Canadian manager at the lower level has better rapport and understanding with superiors belonging to both ethnic groups, and not just with English Canadian superiors. As a result he is more likely to be, as well as be seen as, a better integrated member of the management team.

In contrast, the average French Canadian at the lower management level is, as we have seen, in much less rapport with the managers of both ethnic groups at the superior level. He would fail to see eye to eye not only with English Canadians, but even with members of his own ethnic group at the higher level with respect to work matters. He is, in short, much more a loner, an individual quite at odds with many of the objectives valued by his superiors. Being essentially outside the communication net, he is less likely to be, and be seen as, a well-integrated member of the management team, thereby diminishing his chances for promotion accordingly. This situation could easily generate within the individual rather strong feelings of resentment, and could conceivably lead him to believe that he has been betrayed by French Canadians and discriminated against ethnically by English Canadians.

Secondly, the impact on French Canadians in middle management could result in the average member of this group finding himself in a rather awkward position. He is, in fact, in better rapport, not only with his English Canadian peers, but also with English Canadians at the subordinate level, than he is with members of his own culture at this lower level. He could be seen by others, particularly French Canadians, as having "joined" the Anglo-Saxon culture, and this perception of him by French Canadians in lower management, could further reduce his rapport with them. In addition, the inevitable realization on his part that the average first level French Canadian manager is not quite as "promotable" as the English Canadian first level manager is, could create in him a conflict between his business judgments and ethnic loyalty. Thirdly, the average English Canadian at middle management could, for the same reasons, be in a position of some embarrassment "vis-à-vis" his French Canadian colleagues.

The resulting feelings of uneasiness and unrest which would result from all of these repercussions, are, in the opinion of the researchers, inevitable and understandable. The fact that the number of French Canadian managers at the middle level is, in most large organizations, smaller, may be due to the dynamics of the communication network described above.

The next step in the analysis of the priority orderings of the ten organizational goals is a consideration of Service organizations.

Table 7 presents the orderings by managers of the two ethnic groups in the first grouping within this service category -- level 1 managers. It can be seen in this table that, as it was the case with level 1 managers of Non-Service organizations, a fair amount of agreement exists between the two sets of ranks. The tau correlation between French Canadian and English Canadian managers was found to be .82. A closer scrutiny of the ranks reveals that the two ethnic groups agree in their orderings of the goals ranked first, fifth, ninth and tenth. Thus, they agree on the most important goal D, and the two considered least important A and I.

It is also important to note that both groups placed the same four social-humanitarian goals among the top five (goals B, D, F, and G). In Non-Service organizations, level 1 French Canadian managers had placed three goals among the top five, while their English Canadian peers had only placed two. Thus, the value systems of both service groups, from an attitudinal standpoint, are more similar than the ones of the two corresponding non-service groups, despite the fact that the tau coefficient would tend to suggest they are identical (non-service groups = .82, service groups = .82). One would therefore generally expect to find a little more rapport between French Canadian and English Canadian managers at level 1 of Service organizations than at level 1 of Non-Service organizations.

As with lower level managers in Non-Service organizations however, these service groups at level 1 do show a few important discrepancies in rank. The discrepancies between the two groups are in their

Table 4.7 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French
Canadians and English Canadians at Level One of
Management in Service Organizations.

Goals	(1) French Canadians Rank	(2) English Canadians Rank	(3) Difference
A	9	9	0
B	4	2	2 [*]
C	6	7	1
D	1	1	0
E	8	6	2 [*]
F	2	3	1 ^{**}
G	3	4	1 ^{**}
H	5	5	0
I	10	10	0
J	7	8	1 ^{**}

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of English Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of French Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

differing views of profit, E, and service, B. While it can be expected that in a service organization, the profit goal would be considered of less priority, (and service of higher priority) than would be the case among non-service managers, nevertheless, the English Canadian group tends to follow the pattern found in non-service organizations, of ranking profit significantly higher than does the French Canadian group. It should be noted, however, that both groups placed goal E among the lower five goals. Although both groups placed goal B among the top five, English Canadian managers, nevertheless, ranked it significantly higher than the French Canadian managers. This is an interesting finding in view of the fact that the service goal is generally considered to be the most obviously meaningful goal of Service organizations.

The significance of the discrepancy in value systems of both groups is further emphasized by the fact that whereas the French Canadian managers placed two social-humanitarian goals before the economic goal of service in order of priority, the English Canadian group did not place any social-humanitarian goal higher than service, but rather, the service goal followed in priority another economic goal (D, the first-ranking one concerned with quality product). Thus, French Canadian managers, contrary to English Canadian managers, feel that there are social-humanitarian goals which are of greater priority than the goal which one would normally expect to be a crucial one for a Service organization, goal B. Further evidence of this social-humanitarian trend can be seen with respect to profit. Here, the French Canadian group placed four social-humanitarian goals in preference to it, while English Canadian managers placed only

three.

Finally, Table 7 reveals that for the set of economic goals, the total difference in rank between the two groups is four -- all in the direction of being assigned a higher priority by English Canadians -- while for the set of social-humanitarian goals, a trend of three ranks separates the two groups, with the French Canadian group favouring these social-humanitarian goals more than the English Canadian managers. It can be said that the cultural groups are seven units apart in their evaluation of goals.

In concluding the analysis of this data, one is safe in saying that Hypothesis II is supported, since the two ethnic groups of managers agree much more than disagree in their priority orderings, and that major differences in value systems do not seem to be involved. However, the English Canadian leaning toward economic objectives is born out again here, particularly with respect to the profit and service goals. The average French Canadian manager at level 1, though agreeing generally with the views of his English Canadian counterpart, as to the priority of goals, does show a predilection for social-humanitarian values. The importance of these differences in terms of their repercussions on the establishment of communication barriers has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere (see the results involving Non-Service organizations).

Shifting the focus next to level 2 of the service-grouping, Table 8 shows the rank orderings of the two ethnic groups at that level.

Table 4.8 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French
 Canadians and English Canadians at Level Two of
 Management in Service Organizations.

Goals	(1) French Canadians Rank	(2) English Canadians Rank	(3) Difference
A	8	8	0
B	2	2	0
C	7	6	1*
D	1	1	0
E	5	3	2*
F	3	4	1**
G	4	5	1**
H	6	7	1**
I	10	10	0
J	9	9	0

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of English Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of French Canadian managers assigning a higher priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

The degree of agreement for the two groups is quite high. A tau correlation of .87 was found between the two rank orders, and as shown in the table, the two ethnic groups agreed on the priorities of the goals ranked first, second, eighth, ninth and tenth. Thus again, (as in level 1), the two groups substantially agreed in their views of the most important and of the least important objectives of an organization. For reasons already given in discussing Non-Service organizations, it was not surprising to find that the degree of agreement in views of organizational goals and therefore the degree of rapport between the two ethnic groups, is somewhat higher at middle management than at lower management.

An examination of the rank orders reveals that, as they did at level 1, the two ethnic groups disagreed on the priority of the profit goal, which is consistent with the findings in the non-service data. It can also be noted that (in contrast to managers at level 1), the two ethnic groups in middle management agree on the priority of the service objective B. Thus, the two ethnic groups are in full accord in their feeling that service to the customer is one of the most important goals for an organization to pursue. Still further, where the English Canadian group placed profit third in rank order, the French Canadian managers placed the goal F -- the goal that the researchers have previously referred to as the most economic of the social-humanitarian goals. In this relatively high rank position then, French Canadian managers seem to prefer a social-humanitarian goal with strong economic overtones than a purely economic one, a trend which is not true for the English Canadian group.

Along the same line, where the French Canadian management group placed two social-humanitarian goals in higher priority positions than profit, English Canadian managers placed two economic goals, and, of course, no social-humanitarian goal higher than E. Looked at in another way, the top three goals for English Canadian managers are all economic, while for the French Canadian group, two of the top three are economic, one (goal F) is social-humanitarian. It should be noted too that for goals F, G, and H of the social-humanitarian goals, the two groups differed by one rank on each, all in the direction predicted -- English Canadian managers ranking social-humanitarian goals lower than French Canadian managers. Thus, the two groups of level 2 differ by three ranks on the social-humanitarian set of goals, and by three ranks on the economic set, for a total of six rank differences between them, all in the predicted direction.

In summary, the English Canadian preference for economic goals, and the French Canadian inclination toward the social-humanitarian ones, show up rather strongly in these rankings, even though the over-all agreement between the two ethnic groups is quite high. However, the barriers to communication are not as great between the two ethnic groups at the middle management level, as they are at the lower management level, a finding which also applied to the non-service organizations.

A consideration of the contrasts between the goal rankings of the lower and the middle levels of management for service organizations

is presented in Table 9. The data indicates that, as in the same level comparison in the non-service organizations, the general trend for both ethnic groups is for managers at level 2 to assign higher priorities to economic goals, and lower priorities to social-humanitarian goals than do those at the first level of management. While this type of priority shift between level 1 and level 2 can be expected (as previously noted), the shift upward in the priority of economic goals is slightly greater for the French Canadian group than for the English Canadian group: that is, a shift upward for the French Canadian group of six rank orders, in contrast to a shift upward of five for the English Canadian group. There was a shift downward in priority of five rank positions for both French Canadian and English Canadian managers between level 1 and level 2 with respect to social-humanitarian goals -- a trend also noted in non-service organizations.

One of the interesting differences in rankings between the two organizational levels is with respect to the service goal (B). The French Canadian group at level 2 ranked it higher than the first level French Canadian group, while for English Canadian managers at these two organizational levels, the ranking of service was identical. It is apparent that French Canadian managers of level 2 have, in effect, "closed the gap" which existed (at level 1) between the French Canadian viewpoint and the views of English Canadians on the importance of service to the customer. This change can be interpreted as a move in the direction of the English Canadian point of view. The same slight tendency for the

Table 4.9 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals: A Comparison Between Level 1 and Level 2 for both French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers in Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Management Groups			E.C. Management Groups		
	Level 1	Level 2	Rank Diff.	Level 1	Level 2	Rank Diff.
A	9	8	1*	9	8	1*
B	4	2	2*	2	2	0
C	6	7	1	7	6	1
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	8	5	3*	6	3	3*
F	2	3	1**	3	4	1**
G	3	4	1**	4	5	1**
H	5	6	1**	5	7	2**
I	10	10	0	10	10	0
J	7	9	2**	8	9	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

French Canadian managers to move toward the English Canadian viewpoint between level 1 and level 2 can be seen with respect to goal J. Here again, the French Canadian group moved this social-humanitarian goal down by two rank orders between levels, while the English Canadian group moved it down in priority one rank. As a result, both ethnic groups have given this goal identical ranking at level 2. Of additional interest in the data, is the rather sharp differences between level 1 and level 2 on the profit goal (E). Here, the French Canadian manager's change between levels was equal in magnitude to that of the English Canadian manager -- a difference of three rank orders for both ethnic groups. The significant feature of differences in the ranking of the profit goal, however, is that for both ethnic groups, it represents a shift in ranks from the lower to the upper five in priority -- a shift in value system but one which applies to both ethnic groups.

Contrasting the two management levels for the whole set of ten organizational goals, it can be seen that, similar to the contrast of these two levels for Non-Service organizational levels, a rather marked difference in goal orientation is characteristic of managers between lower and middle management. There is a very slight tendency for French Canadian managers to differ more than English Canadian managers between the two levels. If one takes the total shift in priority rankings as a gross index of level 1 and level 2 differences, the total shift is eleven rank orders for French Canadian managers, and ten for English Canadian managers. All but one of these shifts (goal C for French Canadian managers)

are in the same direction: higher priority for economic goals, lower priority for social-humanitarian goals. It will be recalled that for the non-service organizations, however, the shift from level 1 to level 2 in priority orderings of the ten objectives by French Canadian managers was considerably greater than for English Canadian managers (a total shift of fifteen ranks compared to ten for English Canadian managers).

The next point of interest in this service organization comparison is a consideration of the cross-cultural relationships in a superior-subordinate interaction. The reader will recall that, in the non-service groupings, tau correlations were computed between the goal rankings of French Canadians at level 1 and English Canadians at the second level of management, and also the reverse: between the rankings of English Canadian managers at level 1 and French Canadian managers at the second level. The same procedure was followed here with respect to service organizations. It was found that the tau correlation between French Canadian managers at level 1 and English Canadian managers at level 2 was .49, indicating a moderately low degree of agreement between these two groups in their views of goals. On the other hand, very high agreement is indicated for English Canadian managers at level 1 and French Canadian managers at level 2, the tau correlation in this case being .91. This pattern of relationships is essentially the same as that found for managers in non-service organizations -- considerably more rapport between French Canadian superiors and English Canadian subordinates than between English Canadian superiors and French Canadian subordinates.

In order to examine these relationships further, Table 10 is presented. The data show that between the French Canadian group at level 1 and the English Canadian group at level 2, very substantial differences occurred with respect to the priority ordering of economic goals. Though the two groups agreed on the primary importance of goal D, and also on the sixth ranking of goal C, a large difference occurred with respect to the service goal (B), and an even larger one (5 rank order differences) with respect to the profit objective (E). The discrepancy between the two groups is so large with respect to profit, that one could say that the degree of rapport between them would be almost negligible. Indeed, these discrepancies largely reflect a basic difference in value systems, since French Canadians at the first level of management ranked goal E well-down in the lower five rank orders, while English Canadians at level 2 ranked it well within the top five in importance. With regard to social-humanitarian goals, differences again are mainly large ones, with differences of two rank orders for goals F, G, H and J. Again the difference in value systems is reflected in the fact that French Canadian managers ranked goal H among the top five while English Canadian managers did not.

Thus, a total of sixteen rank differences occurred between the two groups, taking the economic and social-humanitarian set as a whole, and all, of course, are in the direction of greater priority assigned to economic goals by English Canadian middle-level managers, and lower priority assigned by this group to social-humanitarian goals.

Table 4.10 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French Canadian (FC) Managers at Level 1 Compared to Those of English Canadian (EC) Managers at Level 2; and by English Canadian Managers at Level 1 Compared to Those of French Canadian Managers at Level 2 in Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Level 1 Rank	E.C. Level 2 Rank	Rank Diff.	E.C. Level 1 Rank	F.C. Level 2 Rank	Rank Diff.
A	9	8	1*	9	8	1*
B	4	2	2*	2	2	0
C	6	6	0	7	7	0
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	8	3	5*	6	5	1*
F	2	4	2**	3	3	0
G	3	5	2**	4	4	0
H	5	7	2**	5	6	1**
I	10	10	0	10	10	0
J	7	9	2**	8	9	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 2 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

The picture is quite different for English Canadian managers at the lower level compared to French Canadian managers at the middle level of management. Rank differences occurred only with respect to goals A and B, in the economic set, and here the difference is only one rank order. In the social-humanitarian set, again differences between the priority orderings of the two groups are slight, only one rank order disparity for goals H and I. In short, the differences between the two groups are small, and in the direction of higher priority assigned to economic goals by French Canadian middle managers, and lower priority given to social-humanitarian goals by this group, than by English Canadian managers at the lower level. For the total set of ten organizational goals, it can be seen that the two groups differ by a total of only four rank orders.

These considerations clearly indicate that the communication barrier is much greater between middle management English Canadians and lower-level French Canadian managers, than between French Canadians at middle management and English Canadian managers at the lower level. The reader will recall that substantially the same pattern of results occurred in the Non-Service organizations.

The summary of the pattern of relationships among managers in the Service organizations is shown on the next page in Figure 2, which presents this data in terms of tau correlation configurations. As was the case in the Non-Service organizations, the relationship between the EC1 and EC 2 group is, as expected, stronger than the relationship between the FC 1 and EC 2 relationship (taus of .78 and .49 respectively).

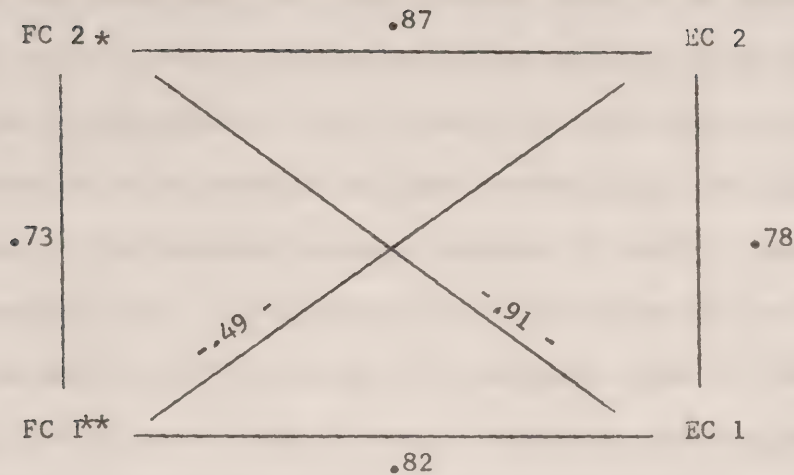


Fig. 4.2 - Tau Correlations Between Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals, Shown For French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Both Within and Between Organizational Levels One and Two in Service Organizations.

* Refers to Level 2. ** Refers to Level 1.

However, as in the case of non-service organizations, this pattern does not appear in a comparison of the FC 1, EC 2 and FC 2 relationship. In short, French Canadians at lower management again show much less agreement with a superior who belongs to their own culture (tau = .73) than do their English Canadian colleagues at the lower level with this French Canadian superior (tau = .91). Thus strikingly more rapport seems to exist between a French Canadian superior and an English Canadian subordinate than between the French Canadian superior and a French Canadian subordinate, not only in Non-Service organizations, but in Service organizations as well.

Contrasting Figure 1, which represents the pattern of relationships for Non-Service organizations and Figure 2, which shows the Service organizations' configuration, one can see that the general patterns are essentially

the same, and therefore, the same dynamics seem to be operating in both types of organizations. The communication net, described fully in the discussion of the Figure 1 data, appears to exist also in Figure 2, and the pattern of relationships is again substantially the same. The only difference is the somewhat stronger rapport of the FC 1 managers with the FC 2 superior ($\tau = .60$ in figure 1, $.73$ in figure 2), and the lesser rapport between the FC 2 and the EC 2 managers (τ s of $.96$ and $.87$ respectively for figures 1 and 2), and in addition, the considerably closer rapport between the EC 1 and FC 2 groups in Service ($\tau = .91$) than in Non-Service ($\tau = .78$) organizations. Essentially though, the FC 1 group again appears to be the "outsider" in the net, being estranged from the other three groups. It is very likely also that the repercussions of this net on the working relationships would be the same as with Non-Service managers only to a somewhat lesser degree -- creating discomfort for the FC 2 and EC 2 managers, and placing members of the FC 1 group in a distinctly disadvantageous position to rise in the organization.

Before concluding the analysis of the priority orderings of goals by managers in the Non-Service and Service organizations, the priority orderings of managers at level 3 of the Non-Service and Service organizations combined merit some comments¹. The same patterns of relationships

¹ Because of the very small number of French Canadian managers at this level, both Service and Non-Service organizations were combined for this analysis. As a result, the level 2 to level 3 comparisons are not pure. The researchers prefer not to divulge the proportions of Service and Non-Service managers within each cultural group in order to preserve the anonymity of the companies. Suffice it to say that the proportions are the same for both ethnic groups, and that the degree of agreement between Service and Non-Service managers within both ethnic groups is very high, a finding which could be anticipated in view of the fact that the τ between ethnic groups at this level is $.96$.

between level 3 and level 2 were investigated as was done between level 2 and level 1 for both Service and Non-Service organizations, using again the tau coefficients.

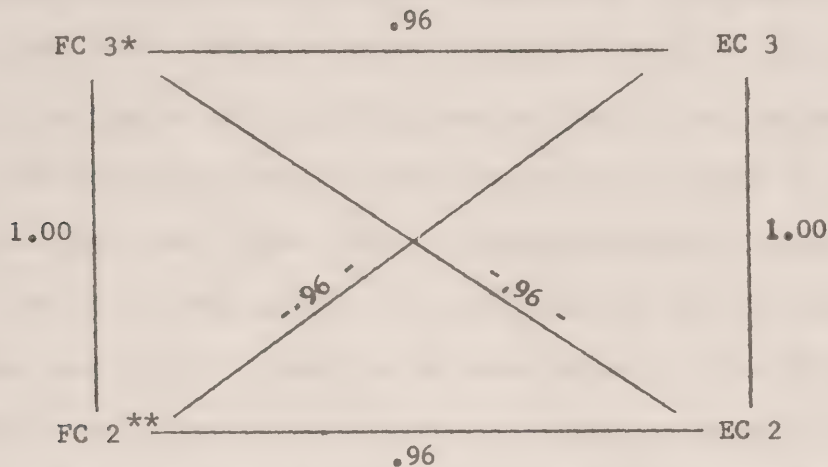


Fig. 4.3 - Tau Correlations Between Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals, Shown For French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Both Within and Between Organizational Levels Two and Three in Non-Service Organizations.

* Refers to Level 3. ** Refers to Level 2.

Figure 3 illustrates the non-service pattern that was found to exist at these two service levels. It can be seen in this configuration that the correlations between the orderings of French Canadian managers at level 2 and level 3 is 1.00, indicating perfect agreement on the rankings of goals by these two French Canadian groups. The same is true for English Canadian groups at levels 2 and 3 -- a correlation of 1.00 was found, indicating perfect agreement between these two groups also. Since the priority orderings of middle and higher management French Canadians are perfectly equivalent, and since the priority rankings of middle and higher management English Canadians are also perfectly

equivalent (correlations of 1.00 in both instances), it is obvious that the tau correlation between the rank orderings of the two ethnic groups at level 3 must be .96, as was found between these two groups at level 2, and that the only difference between them must be a reversal of one rank involving the profit and service goals (goals E and B). Table 11 shows the rank orderings of both ethnic groups at level 3 and the comparison between this table and table 4 illustrates the point that was just made. It is also clear that, since there is perfect agreement between the two levels, (the EC 2 group can thus be substituted by the EC 3 group and vice versa, and the FC 2 group can be substituted for the FC 3 group and vice versa), the degree of agreement between English Canadian managers at level 2 and French Canadian managers at level 3, and also between French Canadian managers at level 2 and English Canadian managers at level 3 must also be the same, a tau of .96, and again, the only disagreement between these groups must, of course, involve the same reversal of one rank between goals E and B.

In examining Figure 3, it can be seen at a glance that these strong interrelationships among the groups at the two levels represent a communication net, and indeed a very closely knit one where each group is intimately linked together with each other one. One could even consider these management groups as constituting a highly integrated management team, in the sense that a high degree of cohesiveness obviously characterizes the relationships among these groups. One would be tempted to say that this cohesive management team constitutes a social system within which

Table 4.11- Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French Canadians and English Canadians at Level Three of Management in Service and Non-Service Organizations.

Goals	(1) French Canadians Rank	(2) English Canadians Rank	(3) Difference
A	7	7	0
B	2	3	1
C	5	5	0
D	1	1	0
E	3	2	1*
F	4	4	0
G	6	6	0
H	8	8	0
I	9	9	0
J	10	10	0

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of English Canadian managers assigning a high priority to an economic goal.

disparities and misunderstandings that might occur should in general be quickly and efficiently resolved. Despite this strong cohesiveness and similarity of outlook, there still exists, however, the reluctance on the part of the French Canadian managers at both middle and high levels to value profit as strongly as do the English Canadian managers. This reluctance may be due to a feeling of conflict with regard to wealth or money matters, a feeling not shared by his English Canadian counterpart, as will be seen in the analysis of conflict related to Personal Gain, discussed later in this chapter.

Nevertheless, in examining this communication net, one cannot help being impressed by the fact that, somehow, these two ethnic groups can, and in fact do, learn to essentially integrate their views (and presumably also their efforts) in the pursuit of the organizational goals of large industrial enterprises. It is indeed extremely doubtful that the development of such a system was an accidental occurrence. Further comments related to this fact will be made later.

Comparing next the configuration of interrelationships between levels 2 and 3 with those of levels 1 and 2 of the Non-Service organizations, it can be seen, in a contrast of Figure 3 and Figure 1, that there is a striking discrepancy in the degree of rapport between French Canadian managers of level 1 and those of level 2 ($\tau = .60$) and the rapport between level 2 and level 3 of the same ethnic group ($\tau = 1.00$). Obviously, from the lowest to this highest level in the hierarchy, superiors and subordinates of the French Canadian ethnic groups moved from a low degree

of rapport and communication to a state of almost perfect accord about the aims of the organization. The same general pattern is true for English Canadian managers. The importance of reducing conflict by strongly minimizing individual differences, as previously discussed in this section, (see page 164) is well illustrated by these results.

Further highlighting this point is the contrast between the degree to which French Canadian managers at the first level are substantially out of rapport with second level English Canadian superiors, compared to the extremely close relationship which exists between French Canadian managers at level 2 and third level English Canadian superiors. The correlation of .55 shown in Figure 1 (between the first level French Canadian, and the second level English Canadian management group), and the correlation of .96 shown in Figure 3 (between the second level French Canadian, and the third level English Canadian management group) dramatically illustrates this contrast. A somewhat similar pattern exists between English Canadian management subordinates and their French Canadian superiors, as shown by the correlations of .78 (figure 1) and .96 (figure 3).

It is most important in viewing these results to take cognizance of the fact that the improvement in communication between French Canadian first level subordinates and English Canadian second level superiors on the one hand, and the French Canadian second level subordinates and English Canadian third level superiors on the other hand, is substantially greater than the improvement in communication between English Canadian subordinates and French Canadian superiors at these same levels. In the first case,

there was a 41% improvement in communication (.96 - .55), while in the second case, there was only an 18% improvement (.96 - .78).

These comparisons indicate that the transition from level 1 to level 2 is a more difficult one, involving more attitude change or reorientation, then a move from level 2 to the highest level of management. Though this is true for both groups, for the French Canadian managers, this movement upward would represent a greater transition and a much more profound change in outlook than it would for the English Canadian managers.

In effect, it would appear that the French Canadian middle manager is almost on an even par with his English Canadian peer with respect to a promotion to the third level, being closely integrated into the management team which exists at these two higher levels. This, of course, is in sharp contrast to the situation for French Canadian managers at the lower level. However, the seemingly small difference in outlook between these two ethnic groups at the middle level may perhaps be greater than is indicated by the configuration (Figure 3) since they do disagree with respect to profit and service. Just how crucial this small difference (1 rank order) is in the two views at this middle level is beyond the scope of this study. However, since the number of French Canadians at the higher level of Non-Service organizations is, in fact, very thin and also since small differences at senior levels of an organization may have a substantially greater negative impact than they would at lower levels of authority, the advancement opportunities for French Canadian managers at the

middle level may not, in reality, be on and even par with those of his English Canadian peers.

This possible inequality of opportunity even at the middle level could also be fostered by the relatively sharper competition for high level positions among managers at the middle level, since non-service corporations are indeed much narrower at the top than at the bottom of the management hierarchy. This latter phenomenon could result in the very top echelon leaders playing it safe by leaning more toward English Canadian than toward French Canadian middle managers in selecting replacements for the third level of management. However, as previously stated, the integration of French Canadians into the management team at the two higher levels of Non-Service organizations is strong.

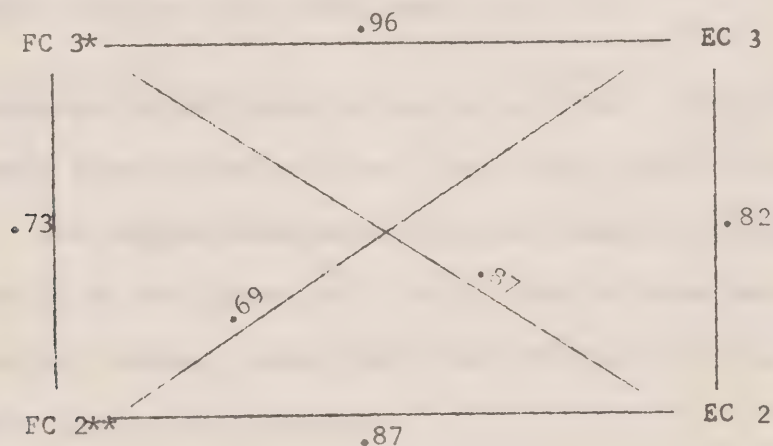


Fig. 4.4 - Tau Correlations Between Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals, Shown For French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian EC Managers, Both Within and Between Organizational Levels Two and Three in Service Organizations.

* Refers to Level 3. ** Refers to Level 2.

Figure 4 presents the pattern of relationships existing between

levels 2 and 3 in the Service organizations. It will be recalled that FC 3 and EC 3 grouped together all third level managers in both Service and Non-Service organizations. These two groups are therefore the same two referred to in Figure 3.

The variations in priority rankings between the middle and upper levels of management are presented in Table 12. As expected, on the basis of the previous analyses conducted, both level 3 groups assigned higher priority to economic goals and lower priority to social-humanitarian ones than did the corresponding two groups at level 2. With regard to the economic goals, it can be seen that level 3 French Canadian managers gave a higher priority to three goals for a total of five rank differences while their English Canadian peers gave a higher priority to three goals, but for a total of three rank differences only.

Regarding social-humanitarian goals, level 3 French Canadian managers gave a lower priority to four goals for a total of six rank differences. The English Canadian third level managers, however, gave a lower priority to only three goals for a total of three rank differences. Thus, the over-all change, going from level 2 to level 3 is greater for the French Canadian groups by five ranks.

It can also be seen that both groups at level 2 had placed the same three economic goals (B, D and E) among the top five and the same four at level 3 (goals B, C, D and E). However, whereas the French Canadian groups had placed two social-humanitarian goals before the profit

Table 4.12 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals: A Comparison Between Level 2 and Level 3 for both French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers in Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Management Groups			E.C. Management Groups		
	Level 2	Level 3	Rank Diff.	Level 2	Level 3	Rank Diff.
A	8	7	1*	8	7	1*
B	2	2	0	2	3	1
C	7	5	2*	6	5	1*
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	5	3	2*	3	2	1*
F	3	4	1**	4	4	0
G	4	6	2**	5	6	1**
H	6	8	2**	7	8	1**
I	10	9	1	10	9	1
J	9	10	1**	9	10	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 3 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 3 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

goal (E) at level 2, and none at level 3, English Canadian groups had never placed a social-humanitarian goal before goal E, at either the second or third levels. This fact immediately suggests that the level 2 to level 3 change among French Canadians is clearly in the direction of establishing closer rapport with the English Canadian's value system. In fact, by examining closely Table 12, the reader will see that this is the case for goals C, E, F, G and H. Finally, it is interesting to note that within the English Canadian groups, the level two to three transition involved a reversal of one rank between goals G and C in the direction of C and a similar reversal between goals B and F in the direction of E.

Turning to the superior-subordinate cross-cultural relationships, it is clear that the pattern is similar to the ones found in both service and non-service organizations at levels 1 and 2, and therefore the implications of such a pattern described in the analysis of Figures 1 and 2 also apply here. It should be noted however that the barriers to communication are not as great in this case, since the taus are .69 and .87, while in service organizations at levels 1 and 2, the taus were .49 and .91 and those of non-service organizations .55 and .78, respectively.

Table 13 shows where the rank differences occur. The differences between English Canadian subordinates and French Canadian superiors are obviously minor ones, with the possible exception of goals C and G, involving a mild discrepancy in value systems. The situation in which a French Canadian manager is a subordinate to an English Canadian manager is a very different one, however. It is clear that the differences are

Table 4.13 - Priority Rankings of Ten Organizational Goals by French Canadian (FC) Managers at Level 2 Compared to Those of English Canadian (EC) Managers at Level 3; and by English Canadian Managers at Level 2 Compared to Those of French Canadian Managers at Level 3 in Service Organizations.

Organizational Goals	F.C. Level 2 Rank	E.C. Level 3 Rank	Rank Diff.	E.C. Level 2 Rank	F.C. Level 3 Rank	Rank Diff.
A	8	7	1*	8	7	1*
B	2	3	1	2	2	0
C	7	5	2*	6	5	1*
D	1	1	0	1	1	0
E	5	2	3*	3	3	0
F	3	4	1**	4	4	0
G	4	6	2**	5	6	1**
H	6	8	2**	7	8	1**
I	10	9	1	10	9	1
J	9	10	1**	9	10	1**

* Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 3 managers assigning a higher priority to an economic goal. ** Indicates that the difference is in the direction of level 3 managers assigning a lower priority to a social-humanitarian goal.

large and important, especially with regard to goals C, E, G and H. The contrast in value systems between these two groups is rather sharply delineated. It is interesting to observe, however, that the contrast is not as great as that found between the same two groups at levels 1 and 2. Comparing the results in Table 10 to those of this table reveals that the improvement in communication between FC 2 and EC 3 over FC 1 and EC 2 in Figure 2 resides in a better rapport with regard to goals E, F, and B.

Finally, one can see that the communication net, previously referred to in Figures 1 and 2, is still in evidence at this third level in Figure 4. On the basis of the data presented, FC 2 managers still stand, as a group, outside the net composed of EC 2 - FC 3 - EC 3 managers, although they do not appear to be (on the basis of the tau coefficients reported) as isolated as FC 1 managers in either Service or Non-Service organizations described in Figures 2 and 1 respectively. However, as was previously pointed out in discussing the non-service pattern in Figure 3, it is more than likely that they are even more isolated in view of the fact that, at these high levels, smaller differences are probably less tolerated than they would be at lower levels. Figure 3 tends to provide strong evidence of this effect of eliminating all divergent points of view at higher levels of management.

In terminating this analysis of goal rankings, one final observation is worth making. In examining these patterns, it would appear that in Non-Service organizations, the critical stage for managers in attitude change is situated in the passage between levels 1 and 2. In

Service organizations, the passage between these two levels appears to be less crucial.

(C) Strength of Feeling Associated with Goals

The reader may note that in the results presented thus far in the analysis of goal evaluations, the general overtones of the findings are the rather marked leanings of French Canadian managers toward social-humanitarian goals, while in contrast, the English Canadian management group show a predilection for economic goals. This pattern is in evidence despite the fact that members of the two groups within any given level, rank order the priorities of the ten goals fairly similarly, as indicated by the tau coefficient. In establishing goal priorities then, it would appear that the attitudinal frame of reference used by the French Canadian manager does distinctly differ from that of his English Canadian colleague, even though the resulting choices made by both groups show more agreement than disagreement, and despite the fact that French Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, do not value social-humanitarian goals sufficiently to warrant the statement that they are social-humanitarian oriented almost to the exclusion of economic considerations. The significance of these findings will become even more evident in the analysis of the intensity or strength of feeling of the two ethnic groups with respect to the ten organizational goals which they ordered according to priority: the third and final point of interest in the study of goal evaluations.

It will be recalled that the mean number of times each group

preferred each goal over the other nine goals was used to reflect the strength of feeling toward that goal, since the mean was considered a useful index of the strength of positive feeling of members of each ethnic group toward each goal ordered in terms of priority. The number of times across organizational levels which the mean of one ethnic group exceeded the mean of the other ethnic group was counted, and the sign test applied to determine whether or not a significant trend of difference existed between the two groups in the intensity or strength of feeling directed toward each goal. When significant trends were found across organizational levels, the confidence interval test was employed to determine whether large differences existed at particular levels of various companies¹.

In describing each of the goals, attention will first be given to the five economic goals. The reader will recall that in regard to these, the general hypothesis (Hypothesis IV) predicted that English Canadian managers would feel more strongly about their importance than would French Canadian managers, even in those instances where both groups gave the goal (s) the same rank. Then, attention will be focussed upon the five social-humanitarian goals. The same hypothesis predicted that, with respect to these, French Canadian managers would feel more strongly about their importance than would English Canadian managers, again even in those instances where both ethnic groups gave the goal (s) the same rank (the reader is referred back to pages 106 to 108 and pages 120 to 121 for a more detailed

¹ Hereafter in the report of results, a statistically significant difference with the use of the sign test will refer to one which is at or below the .05 level of confidence using a one-tailed test, unless otherwise indicated.

discussion of this concept).

Table 14 shows the means of the two ethnic groups by level within the companies for the first economic goal to be considered: goal A. As previously indicated, the two ethnic groups always gave equal low rankings to this goal (from 7 to 9 depending on the grouping considered¹). Inspection of this data indicates that English Canadian managers show higher means in nine of the fifteen levels, while the French Canadian management group have means which exceed those of English Canadian managers in five instances. In one company (Company 5, at level 1), the means are exactly the same. Application of the sign test to this data indicates that no significant trend of differences between the two groups exists for this low-ranked goal. Thus, for this organizational goal, the hypothesis, which predicted greater strength of feeling for English Canadian managers than for French Canadian managers, is not supported.

Turning to Table 15, examination of the data with respect to goal B, which was given a rank of from 2 to 4 (depending on the grouping considered) by both ethnic groups in the priority ordering, indicates that for this high priority objective, twelve of the fifteen level comparisons

¹ In the previous analysis, the mean number of choices for a given goal was transformed to a rank. In this manner a goal received an index score which could vary from 0 to 10 (since there are ten goals) and the higher the mean score the lower the rank. In this analysis, the mean choice score itself is taken as the index. This score can vary then from 0 to 9 (nine being the maximum number of choices possible). A high mean score in this analysis then, is to be interpreted as reflecting a highly endorsed goal. In the previous analysis, a score represented by a high number reflected a highly rejected goal.

Table 4.14 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "A", Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST. 02 Item : 1		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(99)	3.1	(35)	3.7*		
C ₁	EC	(79)	3.6	(83)	4.6		
C ₃	FC	(123)	3.6	(80)	4.2		
C ₃	EC	(85)	3.4	(73)	4.1		
C ₁₀	FC	(73)	3.7	(21)	4.3		
C ₁₀	EC	(123)	3.5	(89)	4.6		
C ₄	FC	(151)	1.9	(110)	2.7	(6)	1.2*
C ₄	EC	(150)	2.3	(172)	2.9	(61)	3.2
C ₅	FC	(142)	2.6	(43)	4.0		
C ₅	EC	(250)	2.6	(92)	4.3		
C ₂	FC	(301)	2.4	(240)	3.2	(16)	3.7
C ₉	EC	(79)	2.6	(110)	2.8	(28)	3.0
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	-	-	(20)	4.7
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	-	-	(99)	4.8

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

Table 4.15 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "B" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST. 02 Item : 2		L 1	L 2	L 3
C 1	FC	(99) 6.3	(35) 6.1	
C 1	EC	(79) 6.4	(83) 6.4	
C 3	FC	(123) 5.8	(80) 6.1	
C 3	EC	(85) 5.7	(73) 6.4	
C 10	FC	(73) 5.7	(21) 5.8	
C 10	EC	(123) 6.0	(89) 5.9	
C 4	FC	(151) 6.5*	(110) 7.2	(6) 6.2*
C 4	EC	(150) 7.2	(172) 7.3	(61) 7.5
C 5	FC	(142) 5.8*	(43) 7.0	
C 5	EC	(250) 6.3	(92) 7.0	
C 2	FC	(301) 5.8*	(240) 6.5*	(16) 6.8
C 9	EC	(79) 6.5	(110) 7.2	(28) 7.1
C 1, 3, 10, 5	FC	- -	- -	(20) 6.9
C 1, 3, 10, 5	EC	- -	- -	(99) 6.6

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

show the English Canadian management groups to have means larger than those of French Canadian management groups. In only two cases do the French Canadian means exceed those of English Canadians. As one might expect, the sign test indicates that this trend is significant, indicating a cultural difference between the two groups with respect to this goal. Of the twelve instances in which the English Canadian mean is larger, five were found to be greater by a statistically significant degree with the use of the confidence interval test¹, and these large and important differences are found at various levels (in Company 4, at levels 1 and 3, in Company 5, at level 1, and Companies 2 and 9, at levels 1 and 2). This result indicates, of course, that the average English Canadian manager definitely directs more strength of feeling toward, and acceptance of, this organizational goal. Thus, the hypothesis, which predicted precisely this trend, is supported.

A comparison of means between the two ethnic groups for the next goal, C, is shown in Table 16. Although this goal was ranked from fifth to seventh by the various groupings, both ethnic groups generally agreed on its rank within any particular grouping. Inspection of this data shows the means for English Canadian managers to exceed the means of French Canadian managers in six of the fifteen comparisons. On the other hand, the French Canadian means are also larger in six of the comparisons, three

¹ Hereafter in the report of results, a statistically significant difference with the use of the confidence interval test will refer to one which is at or below the .01 level of confidence using a two-tailed test, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 4.16 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "C" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies

QUEST. 02 Item : 3		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(99) 4.3	(35) 4.8	
C ₁	EC	(79) 4.6	(83) 4.8	
C ₃	FC	(123) 4.0	(80) 4.5	
C ₃	EC	(85) 4.0	(73) 4.6	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 4.7	(21) 4.7	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 4.5	(89) 4.6	
C ₄	FC	(151) 3.8	(110) 4.2	(6) 3.2*
C ₄	EC	(150) 3.6	(172) 4.2	(61) 4.6
C ₅	FC	(142) 3.8	(43) 4.9	
C ₅	EC	(250) 4.0	(92) 5.0	
C ₂	FC	(301) 3.8	(240) 4.1	(16) 5.1
C ₉	EC	(79) 4.0	(110) 4.0	(28) 4.5
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	- -	- -	(20) 4.9
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	- -	- -	(99) 4.7

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

of the means being equal. This obviously does not constitute a significant trend in either direction when the sign test is employed. These results indicate that the average French Canadian and English Canadian manager are, essentially, in accord both with respect to the priority ordering of this goal, and with respect to the strength of feeling they show toward its importance. In this case then, the hypothesis which predicted greater intensity of feeling for the English Canadian management group is not supported.

Table 17 shows the data for the next goal to be considered: goal D. It will be recalled that this goal was ranked first in priority ordering by both ethnic groups in all five groupings. Inspection of the means in this table indicates that in ten of the fifteen level comparisons, the English Canadian mean exceeds that of the French Canadian group, while the French Canadian mean exceeds the English Canadian mean in three instances. The means of the two groups are the same in two cases. Applying the sign test to this result, it was found that, to a statistically significant degree, English Canadian managers exceeded French Canadian managers in the strength of feeling directed toward the importance of this goal. Further inspection of the data shows that of the ten cases in which the English Canadian mean is larger than the mean of the French Canadian group, five were found to be significantly larger with the use of the confidence interval test, while at the three levels where the French Canadian mean surpasses the English Canadian mean, only one is found to be significant (in Company 10, at level 2). These larger

Table 4.17 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "D" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST. 02 Item : 4		L 1		L 2		L 3	
C 1	FC	(99)	7.4	(35)	7.8		
C 1	EC	(79)	7.6	(83)	7.6		
C 3	FC	(123)	6.7	(80)	7.2		
C 3	EC	(85)	6.7	(73)	7.5		
C 10	FC	(73)	7.3	(21)	7.9*		
C 10	EC	(123)	7.3	(89)	7.3		
C 4	FC	(151)	6.4	(110)	7.2	(6)	6.8
C 4	EC	(150)	6.7	(172)	7.3	(61)	7.4
C 5	FC	(142)	6.1*	(43)	7.2*		
C 5	EC	(250)	6.9	(92)	7.9		
C 2	FC	(301)	6.3*	(240)	7.1*	(16)	7.1*
C 9	EC	(79)	6.9	(110)	7.7	(28)	8.0
C 1, 3, 10, 5	FC	-	-	-	-	(20)	7.7
C 1, 3, 10, 5	EC	-	-	-	-	(99)	7.6

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

differences in means are in Company 10, at level 2, Company 5, at levels 1 and 2, and at all three levels in the Companies 2 and 9 comparison. Thus they appear to be spread across levels 1, 2 and 3, showing no particular concentration in any one level or company. It is interesting to note though that the three cases in which the French Canadian mean surpasses the English Canadian mean are all above level 1. Though the two ethnic groups have ranked this economic goal highest in priority among the ten, the average English Canadian manager shows a definitely stronger feeling toward its importance to industrial organizations. The general hypothesis is thus supported -- English Canadians show significantly stronger feeling and concensus for the importance of this economic goal than do French Canadians.

Table 18 shows the comparisons of means for the goal consistently ranked higher by the English Canadian group than by French Canadians -- the profit goal (E). The results of the comparisons between means with respect to this objective are striking, as might be expected in view of the large discrepancy between the average ranks that each of the two ethnic groups generally assigned to it. The reader may note that each of the fifteen comparisons shows the English Canadian mean choice to be greater in size. Needless to say, the application of the sign test to this data yields a statistically significant trend. It may also be noted that twelve of the differences are large and important ones, as indicated by the confidence interval test. In only Company 10, at level 2, Companies 2 and 9 at level 3 and in combined Companies 1, 3, 10 and 5 are differences

Table 4.18 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "E" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST. 02 Item : 5		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(99) 4.6*	(35) 5.9*	
C ₁	EC	(79) 5.4	(83) 7.4	
C ₃	FC	(123) 3.3*	(80) 5.7*	
C ₃	EC	(85) 4.6	(73) 6.7	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 3.4*	(21) 5.9 %	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 4.9	(89) 6.4 %	
C ₄	FC	(151) 4.3*	(110) 5.5*	(6) 4.8*
C ₄	EC	(150) 5.3	(172) 6.7	(61) 7.8
C ₅	FC	(142) 3.0*	(43) 4.5*	
C ₅	EC	(250) 3.7	(92) 6.3	
C ₂	FC	(301) 2.8*	(240) 4.2*	(16) 5.6
C ₉	EC	(79) 3.6	(110) 5.2	(28) 6.5
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 7.2
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	(99) 7.7

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

not of significantly large magnitude. It is obvious from these results that differences between the two ethnic groups on this economic goal are large, both in the ordering of its importance among the ten organizational goals evaluated, and in the intensity or strength of feeling they attach to its importance. The hypothesis, which predicted greater strength or certainty of feeling directed toward this goal is thus strongly supported.

Turning now to the five social-humanitarian goals, reference to Table 19 reveals that for goal F (always ranked among the top four by both ethnic groups), the French Canadian mean exceeds that of the English Canadian mean at ten of the fifteen levels in the various companies, while the reverse is true at only two levels (levels 1 and 2, both in Company 10). The means are the same in the three remaining instances. This result is statistically significant with the use of the sign test¹, indicating a definite trend toward French Canadian managers expressing greater acceptance of this social-humanitarian goal. In five of these ten instances in which the French Canadian mean exceeds that of English Canadians, the confidence interval test² reveals the difference to be significantly large. These five large differences occur in Company 1 at both levels 1 and 2, in Company 3 at level 2, Company 4 at level 3, and in Company 5 at level 2. Thus large and important differences between the French Canadian and English Canadian managers' feelings toward this goal occur at various organizational levels of the different companies.

¹ Hereafter in the report of results, the reader is to assume that the test of the significance of trends used is always the sign test, unless otherwise indicated. ² Hereafter in the report of results, the reader is to assume that the test of the significance of the difference between means at a particular level is always the confidence interval test, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 4.19 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "F" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST. 02 Item : 6		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(99) 6.1*	(35) 5.7*	
C ₁	EC	(79) 5.5	(83) 5.0	
C ₃	FC	(123) 6.3	(80) 5.7*	
C ₃	EC	(85) 6.1	(73) 5.1	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 5.6	(21) 5.0	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 5.7	(89) 5.6	
C ₄	FC	(151) 6.0	(110) 5.7	(6) 7.7*
C ₄	EC	(150) 5.9	(172) 5.7	(61) 5.1
C ₅	FC	(142) 6.2	(43) 5.7*	
C ₅	EC	(250) 6.2	(92) 4.8	
C ₂	FC	(301) 6.2	(240) 5.8	(16) 5.9
C ₉	EC	(79) 6.2	(110) 5.6	(28) 5.6
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 5.0
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	(99) 4.8

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

The general hypothesis is supported when considering this objective -- the average French Canadian manager feels more strongly about the importance of creating a climate promoting good employee relations for productive work than does his English Canadian colleague.

The next goal, G, is dealt with in Table 20. Though a middle priority goal, it will be remembered that this goal was ranked higher by French Canadian managers than by English Canadian managers of Service organizations. It can be seen here that the French Canadian mean choice is greater in ten of the level comparisons, the English Canadian mean exceeds that of the French Canadian group at three levels in the companies and, in two cases, the means are of the same magnitude. A statistically significant trend exists in the direction of French Canadian managers, as a group, showing more positive feelings toward the importance of this goal than do English Canadian managers. With respect to this organizational goal then, the hypothesis is supported -- French Canadian managers view more strongly the importance of this social-humanitarian goal than do English Canadians in management positions.

Turning next to the goal H, Table 21 clearly reveals that over the fifteen level comparisons, every one shows the French Canadian group with a higher mean than the English Canadian group. This is obviously a significant trend with the use of the sign test. This finding is especially interesting in view of the fact that at level 1 of the Non-Service organizations this goal was given a rank order of 5 by French Canadian managers, and a rank of 7 by the English Canadian group in the priority orderings

Table 4.20 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "G" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST: 02 Item : 7		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(99)	5.0	(35)	4.4		
C ₁	EC	(79)	5.1	(83)	4.4		
C ₃	FC	(123)	5.5	(80)	4.7		
C ₃	EC	(85)	5.7	(73)	4.6		
C ₁₀	FC	(73)	5.4	(21)	4.6		
C ₁₀	EC	(123)	5.3	(89)	4.6		
C ₄	FC	(151)	5.9	(110)	5.2	(6)	6.2*
C ₄	EC	(150)	5.7	(172)	5.0	(61)	4.3
C ₅	FC	(142)	6.2*	(43)	4.6		
C ₅	EC	(250)	5.9	(92)	4.3		
C ₂	FC	(301)	6.1	(240)	5.4	(16)	4.9
C ₉	EC	(79)	5.8	(110)	5.2	(28)	4.6
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-		-		(20)	3.8
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-		-		(99)	4.1

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

Table 4.21 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "H" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST: 02 Item : 8		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(99) 3.7	(35) 3.2	
C ₁	EC	(79) 3.6	(83) 2.7	
C ₃	FC	(123) 5.3	(80) 4.3*	
C ₃	EC	(85) 5.1	(73) 3.6	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 4.2	(21) 4.0*	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 4.0	(89) 3.1	
C ₄	FC	(151) 5.2*	(110) 4.0*	(6) 5.7*
C ₄	EC	(150) 4.2	(172) 3.3	(61) 2.3
C ₅	FC	(142) 5.4*	(43) 3.8*	
C ₅	EC	(250) 4.7	(92) 2.9	
C ₂	FC	(301) 5.6*	(240) 4.7*	(16) 3.4
C ₉	EC	(79) 4.7	(110) 3.8	(28) 3.0
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 2.8
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	(99) 2.7

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

previously described. It should be noted also that of the fifteen differences between the means, nine are larger by a statistically significant amount, and these large differences are represented at various levels in the different companies. One may interpret this significant and important trend of results to mean that the French Canadian and English Canadian managers strongly differ on the degree of acceptance of this goal, even if they give it the same rank in three groupings. In short, the hypothesis is definitely supported -- French Canadians show distinctly stronger feelings toward this goal than do English Canadians.

A somewhat similar picture is given by the results of Table 22, which shows the data for goal I, a goal which was given the same rank by both ethnic groups, as last or next to last depending on the grouping. In this case, the French Canadian mean surpasses the English Canadian mean in eleven of the fifteen comparisons, with only one English Canadian mean being larger, the means of the two groups being the same in three instances. This trend is significant, indicating that the French Canadian manager feels significantly stronger than his English Canadian colleague about the importance of this social-humanitarian objective. Of the eleven larger French Canadian means, three are larger by a significant degree. Two of these differences of significant magnitude are found at level 1 (in Company 4 and Companies 2 and 9), while one shows up at level 3 (in Company 4 again). Thus, the two ethnic groups agree on the priority ordering of this goal, yet differ in the amount of feeling they attach to it. Obviously then, the hypothesis is again supported. French Canadians do show significantly

Table 4.22 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "I" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST: 02 Item : 9		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(99)	1.4	(35)	1.5		
C ₁	EC	(79)	1.3	(83)	1.1		
C ₃	FC	(123)	1.7	(80)	1.4		
C ₃	EC	(85)	1.5	(73)	1.4		
C ₁₀	FC	(73)	1.7	(21)	1.6		
C ₁₀	EC	(123)	1.5	(89)	1.6		
C ₄	FC	(151)	1.9 [*]	(110)	1.4	(6)	2.3 [*]
C ₄	EC	(150)	1.6	(172)	1.3	(61)	1.6
C ₅	FC	(142)	2.0	(43)	1.3		
C ₅	EC	(250)	1.8	(92)	1.1		
C ₂	FC	(301)	2.3 [*]	(240)	1.7	(16)	0.6
C ₉	EC	(79)	1.8	(110)	1.6	(28)	1.3
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	-	-	(20)	0.9
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	-	-	(99)	0.9

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

stronger feelings about this broad social goal than do English Canadians.

Finally, Table 23 shows the means for goal J, which was also generally given the same low rank by both ethnic groups. Of the fifteen comparisons, it can be seen that thirteen show French Canadian means to be larger, while in only one does the English Canadian mean surpass that of French Canadians. On one occasion, the means are the same. The trend is a highly significant one and eight of the thirteen cases of larger French Canadian means are statistically significant in the size of the difference, including all six level 1 comparisons. The remaining two are at level 2 (Company 1 and Company 4). It seems then that French Canadian managers feel more strongly about this goal than do English Canadian managers, particularly at the lower level of the hierarchy, which is reasonable to expect since at that socio-economic level, the problems of job security and unemployment are more acute. Again, the hypothesis is supported. French Canadians show much stronger feelings toward this social-humanitarian goal than do English Canadians, despite the fact that both groups generally ranked this goal low in priority.

So that the reader may quickly scan the general trends of results for this part of the goal evaluation analysis, Table 24 is presented, showing for each of the ten goals, the number of times (counted across organizational levels within the companies) that the mean of the English Canadian management group exceeded the French Canadian mean, and vice versa, as well as the number of times the means were equal.

Table 4.23 - Distributions of the Mean Number of Times French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers Prefer Organizational Goal "J" Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

QUEST: 02 Item : 10		L 1	L 2	L 3
C ₁	FC	(99) 3.0*	(35) 1.9*	
C ₁	EC	(79) 1.9	(83) 1.2	
C ₃	FC	(123) 2.8*	(80) 1.2	
C ₃	EC	(85) 2.1	(73) 1.1	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 3.3*	(21) 1.3	
C ₁₀	EC	(123) 2.2	(89) 1.3	
C ₄	FC	(151) 3.1*	(110) 1.9*	(6) 1.0
C ₄	EC	(150) 2.4	(172) 1.2	(61) 1.1
C ₅	FC	(142) 3.8*	(43) 1.9	
C ₅	EC	(250) 3.0	(92) 1.5	
C ₂	FC	(301) 3.6*	(240) 2.3	(16) 1.9
C ₉	EC	(79) 2.9	(110) 1.9	(28) 1.4
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 1.0
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	(99) 0.9

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .01 level of confidence.

Table 4.24- Listing of Ten Organizational Goals, Showing for Each the Number of Times, Across Levels Within Companies, the Mean Choices of English Canadian managers Exceed those of French Canadian managers ($EC > FC$), the Number of Times the Means are Equal ($EC = FC$), and the Number of Times the French Canadian Mean Exceeds that of English Canadian managers ($FC > EC$).

Economic Goals	$EC > FC$	$EC = FC$	$FC > EC$
A To progressively take a greater share of the market.	9	1	5
B Provide a good service to the customer.	12	1	2*
C To raise, from year to year, the level of production of the company.	6	3	6
D Provide the customer with a good quality product.	10	2	3*
E Make a good profit.	15	0	0*
Social-Humanitarian Goals	$EC > FC$	$EC = FC$	$FC > EC$
F To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, in order to make them more productive at work.	2	3	10*
G To provide good working conditions and a good standard of living for the employees.	3	2	10*
H To create a climate that promotes good relations with employees, with a view to making them happier at work.	0	0	15*
I To participate actively in the development of social, educational and religious institutions or organizations of the region.	1	3	11*
J To reduce unemployment.	1	1	13*

* Indicates a statistically significant trend (sign test).

It can be seen in this table that of the ten comparisons between the two groups, eight are statistically significant in the predicted direction. More specifically, English Canadian managers show significantly more intensity of feeling toward, i.e. greater acceptance of, three of the five economic goals considered, while the French Canadian group expressed significantly stronger intensity of feeling toward, i.e. a greater level of endorsement of, all five social-humanitarian goals. The reader will notice again that the most striking difference show up with the "profit" and the "happiness at work" goals, in which differences between the two groups in the expected direction occur in every management level of every company.

The results of this analysis then clearly confirms the fact that the average English Canadian manager has a more positive disposition toward the economic goals of an enterprise than the French Canadian manager does. The French Canadian manager, however, favours much more strongly the social-humanitarian objectives than his English Canadian counterpart does.

Before concluding the section on organizational goals, let us recapitulate the major findings of these three analyses, along with their most salient implications. At the conclusion of this chapter, various solutions to the communication problems uncovered in these analyses, along with those revealed in the analysis of "Goal Conflict" which follows, will be explored, and some recommendations suggested for the development of a better integrated management team.

The results from all three major analyses clearly demonstrate that a cultural difference does exist between the two ethnic groups in their evaluation of industrial goals. In examining, first of all, how each group contrasts two basically different sets of goals in terms of their relative importance to business organizations, we have found that English Canadian managers as an ethnic group by and large give an over-all priority to economic goals over social-humanitarian ones. Their management philosophy can thus be conceptualized as being basically an economic-oriented one. As an ethnic group, French Canadian managers, on the other hand, do not basically feel that economic goals should take precedence over social-humanitarian goals. Nor do they believe, however, that social-humanitarian goals, taken as a set, should be given definite predominance over the economic grouping goals. Their management philosophy can best be described as a blend, whereby some of both types of goals are among the most highly valued, with the net result that no sharp over-all differentiation between the two sets could be detected.

In short, comparing both of these management philosophies on business goals, it was concluded from this first analysis that the two groups are quite far apart in their conceptualization of organizational goals in the sense that English Canadian managers value economic goals significantly more than do French Canadian managers and conversely, French Canadian managers value more social-humanitarian goals. In essence then, the English Canadian manager has more strongly incorporated into his system of values the economic objectives of business than he has the social ones, while the French Canadian manager has incorporated some

of both types of objectives into his value system.

The analysis of the goal rankings of the two ethnic groups at lower, middle and high management levels for both Service and Non-Service organizations, while generally confirming these conclusions, showed in what specific areas the two groups were essentially divergent in point of view. In Non-Service organizations, the major difference between the two management philosophies or value systems lies mainly in their opposite views regarding the importance of two goals which are at opposite ends of the continuum within the work environment: "Make a good profit" which most clearly typifies the economic objective of business, and "Create a climate that promotes good relations with employees with a view to making them happier at work", which reflects most clearly a concern for the human element in business. To a somewhat lesser degree, the two groups also differed in their opinion of the relative importance of two other goals one economic, the other social-humanitarian: "Provide a good service to the customer", and "Create a climate that promotes good relations with employees in order to make them more productive at work". We have seen, however, that these divergent points of view disappear at middle management, where the rapport between both groups is very high, the only difference being one of much smaller magnitude involving the "profit" and "service" goals.

With regard to service organizations, the major discrepancy involved the profit and service goals of the economic set and the promotion of good relations (goal F) and welfare of employees (goal G) of the social-humanitarian set. Although the difference between both

groups disappear at middle management with regard to the service goal, the other discrepancies persisted. It was also pointed out that, at the highest level of management, both groups essentially agreed on the priority rankings of these goals, again, the only difference being a small one involving the "profit" and "service" goals. In brief, it was concluded that there is generally more agreement than disagreement between the two groups in these various organizations indicating that they are not at opposite ends of the continuum regarding the priorities they assign to goals. However, where major differences were found to exist between the two groups, the data revealed that the average English Canadian manager, though incorporating some social-humanitarian values in his management philosophy, is much more oriented toward economic-oriented values.

In addition, a study of the patterns of agreement levels between the groups at these three echelons of management revealed the following: (1) the higher the organizational level, the greater the importance attached by managers of both ethnic groups to the purely economic objectives of that organization and the less concern there is for social-humanitarian objectives. (2) This inter-level discrepancy is much greater among French Canadian managers than English Canadian managers, indicating that French Canadian managers are in less agreement with members of their own culture at superior levels than English Canadian managers are with theirs. (3) The rapprochement between both groups at middle and top management levels is accomplished essentially by a change in viewpoint on the part of French Canadian managers in the direction of the English Canadian management philosophy, much more than

by a shift on the part of English Canadian managers toward the French Canadian point of view. (4) In terms of inter-cultural rapport between lower and middle management, there is much more agreement between an English Canadian subordinate and a French Canadian superior on the priority of goals than there is between a French Canadian manager at lower levels reporting to an English Canadian superior. (5) In top management, the level of inter-cultural rapport is generally high, especially in Non-Service organizations where the agreement level involving all four groups is almost perfect.

The third and final analysis brought out in sharper perspective the basic delineations between French Canadian and English Canadian managers in terms of their attitudes toward these two sets of goals. The results unequivocally demonstrated that the French Canadian managers, as a group, show significantly more intensity of positive feeling toward all five social-humanitarian goals than do their English Canadian "confrères", even in those instances where both ethnic groups give the same ranking to a particular goal. Conversely, English Canadian managers expressed significantly stronger intensity of feeling, or a higher group level of endorsement, toward three of the five economic goals, again even when both ethnic groups gave equal rank to a goal. The most striking difference in terms of these group feelings occurred in their evaluations of two radically different notions: the profit objective, and the concept of "happiness at work".

With regard to the establishment of priorities of organizational goals, the results based on these three major analyses, are, in the opinion

of the researchers, definitive: the management philosophies of the two major ethnic groups in Canada, though not radically incompatible, are nevertheless based on two different value systems. The English Canadian managers' value system can best be labelled as a definitely economic-oriented one, with overtones of social-humanitarian considerations, while that of the French Canadian managers can perhaps best be described as an economically-inclined value system, but one strongly imbedded in a social-humanitarian frame of reference. While the English Canadian value system is now quite crystallized and strongly structured around economic considerations, the pattern of findings suggests, in the opinion of the researchers, that the French Canadian's system of values is presently in a state of transition, evolving from a culture which has always strongly emphasized humanitarian values while being historically alienated to economic considerations, toward a more economic frame of reference, as French Canadian society becomes more and more involved in industrial expansion and progress.

The major implication of these results, in the opinion of the researchers, centers around problems of communication stemming from a lack of rapport or agreement among individual members of the organization on obviously basic issues. Such communication problems in the long run are bound to lead to serious misunderstandings, misperceptions and frustrations in a bicultural business setting. The communication nets involving both ethnic groups at the three levels of management have been described in some detail. The dynamic structure of these nets strongly suggests, in our opinion, that the interplay among the members of these management groups is now inhibiting, and will continue to hamper even more

in the future, this transition stage which the French Canadian wants to, and must, progress through in order to play an important and productive part in the industrial development taking place around him. But of even more consequence is the fact that the two cultures are affected by this dynamic interplay, in such a way that they would tend to be drawn more and more apart rather than integrated into a functional management team. The repercussions of this state of affairs on the effective utilization of manpower within industrial organizations could obviously have a strong effect on the present stability and future growth of these organizations as well as on the future of Canada itself, as a bicultural nation.

So that the nature and extent of the problem may be more thoroughly described, let us draw further attention to the nature of these repercussions as they relate to members of both cultures and the organization as a whole.

For the French Canadian manager at lower levels in both Non-Service and Service organizations, it is certain that these problems have a direct impact upon his attitudes and functioning in the system, and it should be noted here that the analysis and consideration of this impact applies equally to the middle management French Canadian in service organizations. It can safely be concluded from the research findings presented in this chapter that the lower-level French Canadian functions under a definite handicap, one that exists at the outset of his managerial career. In addition to the normal strains which exist in a corporate structure and which any manager must endure and cope with in his attempts to achieve and progress, are added, for the French Canadian,

some truly burdensome and essentially unique ones. Like his English Canadian counterpart, he must make costly decisions under conditions of uncertainty, he must effectively plan and organize his work and he must continually develop his technical competence.

The most crucial demand placed upon him as a manager, however, is to develop sound and cooperative working relationships with his peers, subordinates and superiors. Particularly, he must continually represent the viewpoint of top management down the line and translate the broad policies and objectives of the organization into specific operational targets for his unit. So that he may conduct these difficult duties with high competence, he must, of course, perpetually draw upon the skill and experience of busy and preoccupied executives higher in the hierarchy. A prerequisite for this "downward flow" of knowledge and experience would be a strongly supportive management climate at higher levels, a climate which would encourage the lower-level French Canadian to inquire, criticize, suggest and in short, to become deeply involved in his work activity. The research findings of this study clearly indicate that he has little rapport with higher-level management, and consequently is essentially deprived of this much-needed support from his immediate superiors whether they be of French Canadian or English Canadian origin. Certainly, he has less support than has his English Canadian colleague.

It is not difficult to imagine that this deprivation of support from those who mediate all important organizational rewards for him, especially when some members of this higher echelon are French Canadian, would result in his feeling a good deal of bewilderment and discouragement.

Added to this, he could not help but observe that the English Canadian at the lower echelon is not disadvantaged in this manner, and that he is much more an integrated member of the management team. He is in closer rapport with superiors of both ethnic groups by sharing with other members of the team a common value system with respect to organizational aims. It is likely that these perceptions would engender in the lower-level French Canadian manager a strong impression that he is a victim of discrimination, and this impression would result in inevitable feelings of frustration, resentment and other such non-constructive reactions. It is this context which leads us to believe that there is less opportunity for the lower-level French Canadian to grow and to put his talents to full use, being very much the "isolate" of the management team. Turning to the upper echelon French Canadian, the situation for him could well be one of unease and discomfort. As previously suggested, he would very likely feel embarrassed and touchy toward even remote insinuations that he is something other than a French Canadian because of his closer rapport with English Canadians at all levels than with lower-level management personnel of his own culture. This defensive state of mind of the upper-echelon French Canadian would create a real source of tension in his relationships with lower-echelon French Canadian managers, thereby reinforcing the condition of alienation which exists for the latter, as described above.

The upper echelon English Canadian manager placed in this context could easily tend to feel that he must "lean over backward", out of fear of being biased (or being considered biased), to provide the lower-level French Canadian with opportunities for advancement, yet be reluctant to

promote to a position of higher responsibility an individual whose thinking and feelings are, in fact, "out of tune" or at odds with the viewpoint appropriate to middle and top management. The higher level English Canadian could, in short, easily find himself in a state of ambivalence and conflict in his relations with members of the French Canadian culture.

For the lower-level English Canadian manager, there is, in comparison to his French Canadian peer, more opportunity to develop, but the situation for this member of the management force could be somewhat stifling because of the fact that he must closely coordinate with members of the French Canadian culture who are essentially estranged from the management team. In short, there could well be the perception on his part of a narrowing down of the broad array of opportunities which would be available to him in a purely English Canadian industrial setting, or one in which his English Canadian peers were integral members of the management team.

Thus, the relative alienation of the French Canadian at the lower-level of management creates a dynamic and widespread, rather than a static and confined, problem situation, since it invariably must affect all members of the management force. All four groups are, in effect, caught in a bind, a kind of self-perpetuating dilemma which centres around the fact that the French Canadian at the lower echelon is essentially deprived of management support which he badly needs in order to fulfill himself and meet the organization's need for managerial talent. This deprivation of support stems from his relatively low rapport with key people in the organization, which in turn is due to his less economic-oriented value

system which he would find difficult to change because of lack of rapport with those who are potentially able to assist him in reorienting his views. The inevitable feelings of frustration and aggression engendered in the lower echelon French Canadian results in the middle management French Canadian becoming more defensive, thus further alienating the French Canadian subordinate, the upper echelon English Canadian becomes more and more embarrassed and confused, the first-level English Canadian feels less and less comfortable, and so the wheel turns.

It is clear, then that this self-perpetuating dilemma is essentially divisive, and no discernable built-in corrective procedures appear to exist which could act in the direction of unifying the two groups. This relative deprivation of opportunities for the French Canadian at the lower-level of management to grow and progress, and the continual tensions that this dilemma generates, would obviously hinder the really effective utilization of all the human resources of both service and non-service organizations, creating a systematic waste of human talent at a time when rapid technological change demands the full use of scarce managerial skill. It is certainly safe to say that the problem will become more acute over time because of the accelerated aspirations of the French Canadians with respect to industrial growth, the growing pace of systemation and automation, and the integrated team effort which this revolution in technology requires.

However, there are, in the opinion of the researchers, some promising lines of action which can be taken to remedy the situation. A discussion of these will follow the presentation of research results of "Goal Conflict".

Goal Conflict

Let us now focus up on the analysis of conflict between organizational goals and goals of personal significance in other realms of life for both French Canadian and English Canadian managers. It will be remembered that five conflict areas were to be considered, namely: "Family", "Individual", "Society", and two additional areas: "Personal Gain" and "Ethnic Identity". The reader will also recall that for the first three of these conflict areas, it was necessary first to derive for each a common or core scale, one which would contain those statements among the total used in the questionnaire which were applicable to, and had the same meaning for, both ethnic groups, then to examine the differences between the two groups on mean scores on this scale, and finally to list those statements which, though not included in the core scale, nevertheless would be of interest from the point of view of the differing connotations they had between the two groups. With respect to the last scale, "Ethnic Identity", since it contained only three statements, the first step in the analysis was not necessary, that is, the statements for this area were analyzed without recourse to intercorrelations among the statements. The first conflict scale for consideration is thus the "Family" one.

(A) Family

As was noted on page 123 of this chapter, a total of eighteen statements were used in the questionnaire to tap this dimension of conflict. In the derivation of a common or core scale, two of these Statements, 18 and 37, were excluded because they showed little or no relationship with

other statements in the "Family" set¹. Specifically, Statement 18 showed a small relationship with a few other statements, but insufficient to warrant its inclusion in the core scale, while Statement 37 was not at all related to the other statements of the "Family" set².

Analysis of the intercorrelations among the remaining statements revealed that actually, not one, but three core scales could be developed, including a major scale consisting of a total of twelve statements, and two minor ones, comprised of two statements in each. Since the derivation of both major and minor scales occurs in many other sections of the results of this study, a word is in order about the meaning of these terms. In analyzing the interrelationships among a large array of questionnaire statements, it is common to find a major core grouping of statements, that is, a good number of statements that show interrelationships with each other of sufficient size or strength to constitute a scale and warrant its utilization as a major core measure of the attitude dimension under study. But it is not uncommon also to find a few statements whose relationship with the major scale is rather weak or non-existent, yet which show a sufficiently strong relationship with each other to merit their use as a separate scale. The term minor here refers to this type of scale, one which contains but a few statements, exists quite apart from the major scale, yet does form a meaningful part of the attitude

¹ Because of the rather technical nature of the intercorrelation tables and descriptions of the derivation of core scales, an example of this type of analysis is given in Appendix L.² The intercorrelation matrix for the statements are shown in Appendix K.

dimension under study. In order to familiarize the reader with the content of these derived scales, they are defined and described here prior to the analysis of research results relative to each of them. This procedure will be followed whenever the results of scales are reported.

The major scale, hereafter referred to as "Scale A", consists of the following statements which, of course, are shown in the Questionnaire booklet, Appendix Q , pages 11 to 13.

Statement 48: "Businessmen who succeed very well are, generally, as happy in their marriage as most people".

Statement 52: "The children of businessmen have as much chance as other children to be well-adjusted in life".

Statement 58: "A businessman cannot have a normal family life".

Statement 43: "Businessmen are more likely than most other people to have problem-children".

Statement 26: "An individual who has advanced to a high level position in a big company has little chance of having a happy marriage".

Statement 16: "Most businessmen don't have a normal family life".

Statement 20: "The higher an individual moves up in a company, the more his children suffer for it".

Statement 11: "The more an individual gets ahead in a large company, the more he is led to neglect his family".

Statement 39: "It is generally possible to succeed in big industry without seriously endangering one's family life".

Statement 55: "The success of a businessman contributes to the development of a good family spirit in the home".

Statement 50: "An individual can devote all of his energies to get promotions in a company without his family life suffering by it".

Statement 41: "Once an individual has reached a standard of living which allows him to live comfortably, he should devote most of his energies to his family, instead of always aspiring to develop his business".

The reader should note carefully here that these statements are in order of importance in terms of their connotation of meaning for the major scale. This major scale was developed by selecting Statements 48 and 52 (the first two listed) as the "nucleus" statements, since, of all the pairs of statements, they showed the highest intercorrelation, and at the same time, showed a relatively strong relationship to most of the other statements. Statement 58 was next selected, and added to the scale because, of all the other statements, it bore the strongest relationship to the nucleus statements (48 and 52). Statement 43 was then selected because, of the remaining statements, it bore the strongest relationship to the three already selected (48, 52 and 58). Statement 26 followed because it showed the highest relationship to the four already selected, and so on through the twelve statements. The statements shown below the top two are listed in order of diminishing relationship to the statements which had already been selected. Although these two nucleus statements reflect the essential meaning of the scale, for all practical purposes, the top half of the listing of statements shown above may be considered useful extensions for a more thorough understanding of the meaning of the dimension being measured. Again, this procedure was followed for the analysis of all scales contained in this report, so that these comments apply to all of them.

As the reader may note in scanning the content of these statements (with particular emphasis on the first six), the over-riding theme of this major core scale is the general welfare and happiness of the family. As one might expect, a normal family life (statements 58 and 16) is associated with a happy marriage (statements 26 and 48) and well-adjusted children (statements 43 and 52). The implications of these statements for conflict are rather strong, and conform to the description of this conflict area in the "Rationale" section of this chapter (p.123).

The first minor scale, hereafter referred to as Scale B, consists of Statements 34 and 45, reproduced below:

Statement 34: "Given two employees who are equally competent, a married man should earn a higher salary than a bachelor, for the same kind of work".

Statement 45: "Given two employees who are equally competent, the individual who has more dependents should get a better salary".

This scale concerns the degree to which an individual ties in, or integrates, family obligations with remuneration in work. Thus, agreement with these statements is assumed to be characteristic of a conflict state, since it is obvious that in Canadian industry, these familial considerations do not enter into salary policy.

The second minor scale, referred to hereafter as Scale C, consists of Statements 31 and 32, namely:

Statement 31: "It is a wife's duty to organize family life so that her husband can devote himself to his work as much as he desires".

Statement 32: "To work with no regard for one's time, in order to get as many promotions as possible in a company, is one of the good ways to fulfill one's role as father of the family".

The content of this scale has the theme of integration of family life with the manager's role in industry. It was felt that disagreement with these statements could imply conflict in that the manager, in disagreeing, does not tend to relate his family life to the demands of a responsible position in industry.

Let us now compare French Canadian and English Canadian managers on their responses to Scale A, the major core scale of family conflict. The reader will recall that this scale measures the degree to which the managerial role in an industrial enterprise is compatible or incompatible with the attainment of healthy and harmonious familial relationships -- with respect to spouse, children, and the general welfare of the family. Table 25 shows a comparison of the means of the two ethnic groups across organizational levels within the companies for this scale¹. Inspection of the data reveals that of the fifteen level comparisons, twelve show the French Canadian group to have lower means than do English Canadian managers. This trend is statistically significant. In short, French Canadian managers perceive significantly more incompatibility between family welfare and happiness, and the demands of a manager's role in industry than do English Canadian managers.

¹ In interpreting the data for the Family Conflict scales, as well as all other conflict scales in this chapter, it should be noted that the higher the mean, the higher the degree of compatibility, and conversely, the lower the mean, the greater the incompatibility (or conflict).

Table 4.25 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Family Conflict, Scale A, for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(46) 7.4	(24) 7.4	
C ₁	EC	(57) 7.2	(77) 7.6	
C ₃	FC	(122) 7.2	(79) 7.1	
C ₃	EC	(82) 7.3	(71) 7.4	
C ₁₀	FC	(72) 7.0 *	(21) 7.0	
C ₁₀	EC	(124) 7.4	(89) 7.5	
C ₄	FC	(148) 6.5	(110) 6.6 *	(5) 7.3
C ₄	EC	(148) 6.4	(167) 7.4	(61) 7.8
C ₅	FC	(142) 6.8 *	(42) 7.0	
C ₅	EC	(249) 7.1	(92) 7.3	
C ₂	FC	(298) 6.6 *	(241) 6.9	(17) 6.1
C ₉	EC	(76) 7.1	(109) 6.8	(27) 6.6
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(19) 7.1
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	-	-	(103) 7.5

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

Further inspection of the data in Table 25 reveals that of the twelve instances where the French Canadian means are lower, four are significantly large differences. These large differences occurred in Company 10, level 1, in Companies 2 and 9, at level 1, in Company 5, again at level 1, and in Company 4, at the second level of management. Thus, three of the four instances, where French Canadians show significantly more incompatibility, occurred at the lowest level of management.. It seems then that the two ethnic groups differ most at the lowest level of managerial responsibility, in their perception of incompatibility or conflict, between the demands made of them as managers in industrial organizations, and family welfare and happiness. Thus, for Scale A, the major conflict scale of the family conflict area, Hypothesis III, which predicted that French Canadian managers would have a greater tendency than would English Canadian managers to experience conflict between organizational goals and goals of personal significance to them in other aspects of life, is supported by the findings reported here.

It should be noted here that, strictly speaking, the scale (as all other conflict scales reported here) measures perceived incompatibility or compatibility, and not felt (subjectively experienced) conflict or absence of conflict. However, in the opinion of the researchers, the latter can legitimately be inferred from the former. That is, it is most probable that when an individual agrees, let us say, that "the higher an individual moves up in a company, the more his children suffer for it", he experiences, or would normally experience, conflict if he were in fact to become more

and more successful. At any rate, he is, in our opinion, in conflict with one of the basic objectives of organizations, which is to motivate people to self-actualize or grow as much as possible -- in short, to use the maximum of one's potentialities within the workplace.

It should be pointed out that the magnitude of the differences between the two groups is generally not a large one, since only four of the fifteen comparisons were found to be statistically significant beyond the .03 level of confidence. Although the trend is a significant one then, with respect to over-all perceived conflict, the existing difference between the two ethnic groups is not a very important one in terms of the amount of over-all difference. In other words, French Canadian managers, on the average, definitely perceive more incompatibility than do English Canadian managers, but, for all practical purposes, not much more. This fact is further illustrated by computing over-all means scores for both groups on Scale A. It was found that the mean scores for the total French Canadian management group (combined across all levels within the companies) was 6.8 (with a standard deviation of 1.5), while for the total English Canadian management group, the mean was 7.2 (with a standard deviation of 1.4). Thus, the difference between the over-all means indicates that, on the average, these two ethnic groups do not seem to differ widely in their responses to Scale A as a whole. It is also of interest to note here that the mean levels of both ethnic groups are not very high (since, as noted on page 143 of this chapter, the total range of possible mean scores was 0 to 10), thus showing a relatively

low degree of perceived compatibility between family welfare and happiness, and organizational demands, for the average French Canadian and English Canadian manager¹.

Though the two ethnic groups are not really far apart in their perceptions of compatibility, the trend is nevertheless a significant one, and, in relation to the matter of communication and coordination between them in the industrial setting, should some sharp differences occur between the two groups in the more specific aspects of this conflict area, as reflected in the various statements, these differences should not be overlooked. They could indeed create serious barriers to communication between the two groups. Hence, brief comments will be made here about those statements on which the two ethnic groups differed to a significant degree in their perception of the compatibility or incompatibility between family and industry on Scale A.

¹One should consider these two means to be, for all practical purposes, equivalent to a percentage grade on a scholastic examination. In this perspective, it can be said that the French Canadian group had "achieved" only 68% compatibility, while their English Canadian colleagues achieved not much more -- 72%. The researchers feel that 7.5 could be viewed as the minimum level of compatibility that most managers should have attained if they are to integrate their views with the aims of the organization enough to function with maximum effectiveness in positions of high responsibility. In a similar way, in grading examinations, a mark of 75% would generally be considered the minimum level of recognized scholastic achievement toward which one should realistically aim.

Thus, a mean score of less than 7.5 could be interpreted as reflecting a degree of perceived conflict in excess of what could be considered the recognized standard. In other words, one would normally expect some degree of perceived conflict in most, if not all, managers, but more than 25% in relation to these kinds of statements would indicate a significant amount of conflict, while a mean of 6.5 or less would certainly reflect excessive conflict. The reader should interpret the mean scores of all the conflict scales of this chapter in this manner.

It was found that in fact, five of the twelve statements of this major scale showed differences in the predicted direction (Statements 58, 16, 55, 41 and 43). For all of these statements, French Canadian managers showed greater incompatibility between family and industry. One Statement, 50, showed a difference in the opposite direction than that predicted -- French Canadians showing greater compatibility. So that the reader may review the content of these particular statements, they are listed below, followed by comments made about them in the light of research results. Because of the unwieldy number of tables used in the analysis of specific statements, Tables 1 to 6 inclusive, which present the percentages of agreement between the two ethnic groups for each of the six statements (across the fifteen organizational levels), have been placed in Appendix Y for the sake of convenience.

Statement 58: "A businessman cannot have a normal family life".

Statement 16: "Most businessmen don't have a normal family life".

Statement 55: "The success of a businessman contributes to the development of a good spirit in the home".

Statement 41: "Once an individual has reached a standard of living which allows him to live comfortably, he should devote most of his energies to his family, instead of always aspiring to develop his business".

Statement 43: "Businessmen are more likely than most other people to have problem-children".

Statement 50: "An individual can devote all of his energies to get promotions in a company without his family life suffering by it".

It was interesting to find that the two ethnic groups differed

in the direction of French Canadian managers showing greater perceived incompatibility at all levels in all of the companies for the first five statements listed (58, 16, 55, 41, 43), and again in all companies and levels for statement (50) which showed French Canadian managers to have greater compatibility than English Canadian managers. The results are equally striking in terms of the number of levels at which large and important differences were revealed in these six statements, as will be seen in examining each statement. Before doing so, however, a few explanatory comments should be made about the use which was made of percentages in the analysis so that the reader may be made fully aware of their implications at the onset.

It will be remembered that an 8 point scale was used in the questionnaire on conflict. The first four categories (1 to 4) indicated the various degrees of disagreement with the statement, while the last four (5 to 8) indicated four degrees of agreement varying from "slightly agree" to "completely agree". For the analysis of conflict, all responses included in the last four categories were counted as "agree" responses. Thus, the percentage used denotes the number of people who agree with the statement whether they "slightly", or "moderately", or "strongly" or "completely" agree with the statement in question. All differences in percentage therefore reflect basic differences in the "agree-disagree" dichotomy rather than a simple difference in degree of agreement between, let us say, "moderately agree" and "strongly agree". The implications in terms of communications are obvious: a difference in point of view

in terms of agreement versus disagreement constitutes a much stronger communication barrier than one between two degrees of agreement or two shades of disagreement. It was felt that the major interest in the study was to concentrate on these more important barriers to communication. To delve into more subtle differences would realistically have been beyond the scope of this study and posed the danger of "splitting hairs", in the sense of discussing relatively minor issues. This procedure was adopted for all statements in this study analyzed with the use of percentages.

Looking at the individual statements, the percentage of individuals who agreed with Statements 58 and 16 are shown, respectively, in Tables 1 and 2 of Appendix Y. These two statements are similar in conceptualization in that both concern being deprived of a normal family life. There is, however a somewhat different slant in the meaning of the two statements, and a corresponding difference in the responses to these two. Statement 58 indicates that: "A businessman cannot have a normal family life", while Statement 16 specifies that businessmen do not, in actual fact, have a normal family life. It can be seen in Table 1 that the percentages of people who agree with Statement 58 are quite low for both groups. These percentages range from only 4.8% to 21.9% for English Canadian managers, and from 11.7% to 33.3% for the French Canadian groups. In contrast, the percentages are relatively high for both groups with regard to Statement 16, most of the percentages being in the 30% to 60% range. This indicates that few managers of either

groups believe that a normal family life is impossible (statement 58), but a relatively large percentage do believe that businessmen, in fact, do not have this normality (statement 16). The trend of opinion then seems to be that in industry, a normal family life is possible for most, but hard to attain for many.

It should be remembered though that the two groups do differ strongly in their reactions to these two statements, as seen by the fact that for Statement 58, the two ethnic groups differed by a significant degree¹ at all fifteen levels, and for Statement 16, significant differences occurred at fourteen of the fifteen levels. Regarding the percentages for Statement 58, shown in Table 1, it can be seen that for French Canadian managers, a total of six of the percentages are over 25%, five are between 20% and 25%, only four are below 20%, and none fall below 10%. In contrast, seven percentages are below 10% for English Canadian managers, and in only one case does the percentage of those who agree exceed 20%. It can also be seen that differences between groups in percentages are extremely large at level 3 indicating that French Canadian top-level managers seem to have a problem in this area much more than English Canadian managers do.

Taking Statement 16 next, (shown in Table 2) for French Canadian managers, eleven of the fifteen percentages are above the 50% level, and

¹ Differences between percentages are considered statistically significant at or below the .13 level of confidence. See Appendix A for further details.

in fact, four percentages are above 60%, seven of the percentages are in the fifties, three are between 40% and 50%, and only one percentage is in the 30's for this ethnic group. In contrast, the percentage for the English Canadian management group fall well below the French Canadian group in terms of percentage agreement, with none above 50%, and in fact, five are below 30%. It is apparent therefore, that the gap between the two ethnic groups is even greater for Statement 16 than for Statement 58.

These findings are important, not only in terms of the greater tendency of French Canadians than of English Canadians to feel that a normal family life is impossible to attain, but particularly in terms of the fact that a majority of French Canadian managers believe that businessmen do not actually have a normal family life, while a minority of English Canadian managers believe this to be true. The repercussions of these findings will be discussed later in the chapter when dealing with the results for Scale C.

The data for Statements 55 and 41 are shown in Tables 3 and 4 respectively of Appendix Y . These two statements are also quite similar in conceptualization, both dealing with the individuals' concern for the family as an integrated unit. With respect to Statement 55, the percentages of those who agree with the statement are quite high for both ethnic groups, with the percentages falling within the 60% to 85% range, and none falling below 50%. With respect to Statement 41, the percentage agreement is quite varied, with the percentages of those who agree with

the statement ranging from 16.3% to 66.3%, but the percentage agreement is considerably lower for both ethnic groups than is the case for Statement 55. Thus, managers of both ethnic groups tend toward agreement that success contributes to family spirit, but there is a relatively lower level of endorsement by both groups of the idea that once successful, a man should devote most of his energies to his family.

Contrasting the responses of the two groups, it can be seen in Tables 3 and 4 that they differ widely with respect to both of these statements. For Statement 55, English Canadians show significantly higher percentages of agreement than do French Canadians at thirteen of the fifteen levels, while for Statement 41, French Canadians show higher agreement than do English Canadians at twelve of the levels. It should be noted here that these significant differences exist at all levels of management in the various companies. Regarding the percentages for Statement 55, the reader will notice that at fourteen of the fifteen levels, the percentages for English Canadian managers are over 80% while for French Canadian managers, only two exceed this percentage, and in fact, in ten instances the percentages for the latter group fall below 70%. This result for Statement 55 indicates that English Canadian managers agree considerably more than do French Canadian managers that a businessman's success contributes to good family spirit, or in other words, the English Canadian group perceives a greater link between business success and family spirit than do their French Canadian counterparts.

With respect to Statement 41, it can be seen that in ten instances, the percentage of French Canadians who agreed with the statement exceeded 50%, and in fact, four were above the 60% level. In contrast, only one percentage was above 50% for English Canadians, and eight fell below 40%. In regard to Statement 41, high agreement would indicate incompatibility between family and industry, since it proposes that once successful, a man's energies should be directed almost solely to the family at the expense of the enterprise -- a pattern of behaviour which would be in conflict with what would normally be expected of a successful executive, that is, contribute to the continuous growth of the organization. As indicated, French Canadians agree with the statement more than do their English Canadian colleagues, and thus express greater incompatibility.

Table 5 of Appendix Y shows the percentage comparisons for the next significant Statement, 43, which refers to "problem children". The percentage of people who agree with it is quite varied (ranging from 6.5% to 52.9%), but tending toward the low side for both ethnic groups, with only two of the percentages exceeding 50%. However, when considering the contrast between the two ethnic groups in their responses to this statement, the results are quite striking. Not only does the French Canadian management group show significantly greater percentage agreement with the statement than does the English Canadian management group in thirteen of the fifteen differences, but the percentages of French Canadians who agree with the statement is double or close to

double the percentages of English Canadians in ten cases. In fact, in one instance the French Canadian percentage is five times larger than that of English Canadians, and in another it is three times as large.

These results show clearly that French Canadian managers have relatively much greater conflict between organizational demands and this aspect of family life than do English Canadian managers. In fact, of all of the five statements which differentiate the two groups in the predicted direction, this one concerning the risk of having problem-children shows the largest difference between the two groups. In other words, for French Canadians, much more so than for English Canadians, the sharpest point of conflict appears to be in the negative effect which business life has, or could have, on the healthy development of children, and it is quite conceivable that this preoccupation or fear could easily generate guilt feelings as one becomes more involved in one's work, even to the degree that the success of the French Canadian manager could, over time, be hampered. The effect that this perception could have on the French Canadian manager who happens to have a "difficult" child is obvious. He, much more than his English Canadian counterpart, in the same circumstances, would likely react with resentment specifically directed toward the organization within which he works, and certainly toward the business world at large.

It is interesting to contrast the themes of these five statements of Scale A which significantly differentiated the two ethnic groups, with the themes of the six family conflict statements on which the two groups

did not differ significantly. Four of the statements which showed significant differences concerned the broader aspects of family, referring to "normal family life", "family spirit", and "the family" (statements 58, 16, 55 and 41), while one statement (43) refers to the chance of having "problem children". The six statements which did not significantly differentiate the two groups refer to "the welfare of children" (statements 20 and 52), "marital happiness" (statements 26 and 48), and the "neglect" of, and danger to, family life (statements 11 and 39).

In examining Tables 1 and 2 of Appendix Z, which show the percentage data for Statements 11 and 39 respectively, it is obvious that the majority of managers tend to feel that while promotion in an industrial organization can lead to the neglect of one's family, business success does not generally place family life in serious jeopardy. However, as previously noted, these managers feel that a really normal life is, for many, difficult, and for some, even impossible to attain, with French Canadians feeling more strongly about this problem (than do English Canadians). This difficulty in attaining a normal family life does not seem to negatively affect marital happiness in the views of these managers, since as it can be seen in Tables 3 and 4 (statements 26 and 48), both groups feel that for a successful manager, a happy marriage is indeed attainable, and in fact, it is their opinion that businessmen are as happily married as are most other people. In view of this, one wonders if the concept of a "normal family life" does not elicit in the minds of many the image of an ideal state which has been perpetuated by the

culture. It is indeed likely that nostalgia for this ideal state does exist among people. It is not at all inconceivable that this nostalgia would be stronger among French Canadians than among English Canadians, particularly in view of the common differentiation made between the two cultures to the effect that the French Canadian culture is more idealistic in its outlook, while the English Canadian culture is more pragmatic.

Of particular interest in these contrasts between the significant and non-significant statements are those statements which relate to the welfare of children. While the majority of both groups are in agreement that the children of a successful manager are not necessarily disadvantaged, and have as much chance as other children to be well adjusted (Tables 5 and 6), French Canadians feel much more strongly (as pointed out above) that the chances of having problem children are relatively high. In the opinion of the researchers this apparent contradiction can be reconciled. It could very well be that French Canadians feel that the father's commitment to a successful career in business can indeed create problems for his children, but problems of a less serious type, such as misbehavior or lack of discipline, and not so serious as to affect the child's basic life adjustment. At any rate, the concern for children appears to be, as noted above, a sharp conflict among the French Canadian management group in contrast to the English Canadian group.

Finally, it is of interest to examine the findings for Statement 50. It will be recalled that of the six statements in Scale A which

differentiated between the two ethnic groups to a significant degree, this statement was the only one which showed results in the direction opposite to that predicted. That is, French Canadians showed a higher degree of compatibility than did the English Canadian group.

As showed in Table 6 of Appendix Y, the percentages of those who agree vary to a considerable extent across levels within the various companies, with the range being from 25.2% to 78.0%. It is obvious here that this rather wide variation is due to the extremely sharp dichotomy between the two ethnic groups in their endorsement of the statement. The French Canadian group shows significantly stronger agreement with the statement (than do English Canadians) at thirteen of the fifteen level comparisons, and while seven percentages are above 60% for this group (with five in the 50's), none of the English Canadian percentages reached this level. In fact, the percentages of English Canadians who agree with the statement are, on the whole, in the 30's and 40's, with two below 30%.

Thus French Canadian managers, in tending to agree more than do their English Canadian counterparts with a statement which specifies that one's energies can be directed toward gaining promotions without having his family suffer, show more compatibility between the demands of the managerial role and family welfare. The results for this one statement are inconsistent with the majority (trend) of findings for Scale A, but its meaning will perhaps be better understood in the interpretation of the results for the two statements in Scale C, discussed a little further on in this chapter.

An analysis of the results for Scale B, the first of the two minor scales dealing with family conflict, is now presented. It will be recalled that the theme reflected by this scale is the relationship perceived by an individual between remuneration in work and familial obligations, and the scale contains two Statements, 34 and 45 (shown on page 247 of the Family Conflict section of this chapter).

Table 26 shows for Scale B a comparison of the means of the two ethnic groups across organizational levels within the companies. Of the fifteen level comparisons, the means of the English Canadian management groups exceed those of the French Canadian management group in fourteen cases, (the means being exactly equal in one instance -- Company 1 at the second management level). This trend is, of course, a significant one, indicating that English Canadians as an ethnic group perceive much more compatibility between family welfare and organizational practices concerning remuneration than do French Canadian as an ethnic group, (and of course, conversely, French Canadian managers show more incompatibility or conflict). Closer scrutiny of Table 26 reveals that of the fourteen instances in which English Canadians means are larger, ten are larger by a significant amount, and these major differences between the two ethnic groups are widely spread across organizational levels within the companies. Only in companies 3, 5 and in combined companies 9 and 2, all at the second level, and also in Company 4 at level 3, do these really large differences not show up. Hypothesis III, which predicted greater incompatibility or conflict for French Canadians

Table 4.26 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Family Conflict, Scale B, for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(108) 7.2 *	(33) 8.3	
C ₁	EC	(80) 8.2	(86) 8.3	
C ₃	FC	(127) 6.9 *	(80) 7.4	
C ₃	EC	(86) 8.2	(73) 7.9	
C ₁₀	FC	(74) 6.4 *	(21) 7.0 *	
C ₁₀	EC	(124) 7.9	(91) 8.1	
C ₄	FC	(152) 6.9 *	(112) 8.3 *	(6) 8.0
C ₄	EC	(150) 8.2	(172) 8.7	(61) 9.2
C ₅	FC	(148) 6.3 *	(44) 7.9	
C ₅	EC	(253) 8.3	(93) 8.1	
C ₂	FC	(307) 6.5 *	(247) 7.4 *	(17) 8.0
C ₉	EC	(81) 8.5	(112) 8.1	(28) 8.3
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 7.9 *
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC			(103) 8.6

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

is thus supported, as it was for the results of the major scale (Scale A).

Considering briefly the over-all perception of compatibility, it was found that the over-all mean score for the total French Canadian management group was 7.1 (with a standard deviation of 2.6), while for the total English Canadian management group, the mean was found to be 8.3 (with a standard deviation of 1.9). This difference is significant, and of course, when considered in combination with the ten mean differences of large magnitude, clearly shows that the two groups are indeed far apart, with the average manager perceiving a good deal more conflict than does the average English Canadian in a management position. This suggests that the communication barriers between the two groups could be quite substantial with regard to the issue of remuneration in work, since a considerably greater number of French Canadians than English Canadians believe that compensation policy should be geared to a manager's family obligations.

It is also worth noting that the mean levels of both ethnic groups, though not extremely high, are in fact, somewhat higher than they were for Scale A. The significant point is that by the standard decided upon for interpreting high or low conflict, (see page 252, Footnote) the English Canadian group could be considered relatively "conflict free" with regard to this aspect of the family-industry relationship, since it could be considered that the average member of this group is 80% free of conflict in his perception of the relationship between compensation practices and family welfare. In contrast, the average French Canadian would be 71% conflict-

free. This means that a fair amount of conflict does appear to exist for the latter group, relatively speaking.

In order to highlight the more specific aspects of compatibility differences between the two groups, it is of interest to inspect the results of Statements 34 and 45 separately. It should be noted that for both Statements 34 and 45, French Canadians showed significantly more agreement with the two statements than did English Canadians, and therefore significantly more incompatibility or conflict. Table 7 of Appendix Y shows the percentage comparisons for Statement 34. It should be noted that the percentages of managers who agree with this statement concerning the compensation of single and married men, varies by a considerable amount for both ethnic groups, with these percentages ranging from a low of 1.6% to a high of 47.3%. However, it is safe to say that the percentage agreement with the statement tends toward the low side, with only two percentages above 40% and most of them being well below 30%. Thus the management group as a whole tends toward low agreement with the notion that married men should receive a better salary than single men.

Of particular interest though, is the fact that the French Canadian group shows much stronger agreement with the statement than do English Canadians. Not only is the trend of differences across levels a perfect one, but differences of large magnitude between the percentages occurred in thirteen of the fifteen comparisons. While seven of the percentages for French Canadians are above 30%, (with two above 40%) not one of the

English Canadian percentages reach this level. Indeed, for this latter group, the majority of percentages, (thirteen out of fifteen), fall below 20%. Thus, it can be said that considerably more French Canadian than English Canadian managers are, in effect, "out of step" with current Canadian industrial practices, and thus more in conflict with this particular aspect of the relationship between family and organizational life.

Table 8 of Appendix Y presents the data for the second statement of Scale B, Statement 45, which refers to the remuneration of individuals with dependents. As with Statement 34, there is considerable variation among the percentages of those who agree with the statement, the range being from 1.6% to 44.7%. Again similar to the results for Statement 34, the percentages tend toward the low side, with the majority falling below 30%. This indicates that the management group as a whole tends toward low agreement with the idea that those with dependents should receive a better salary.

Despite this relatively low over-all agreement, a much larger percentage of French Canadians than English Canadians endorse this statement. This is demonstrated by the fact that the trend of difference is significant across levels (French Canadians showing more agreement at fourteen of the fifteen level comparisons), but also by the fact that twelve of the differences are of significant magnitude. It can be seen that these large and important differences in percentage occur in every company at the lower level of management, (while they occur in two instances at level 2, and one at level 3). Thus, this significantly greater

perceived incompatibility is a uniform characteristic of French Canadians at the lowest level of management. In addition, it can be seen that for French Canadians, nine of the percentages are above 30% (with three in the 40's), while only two are below 20%. In contrast, for English Canadians none of the percentages are above 30%, fourteen are below the 20% level of agreement, and in fact, five of them fall below 10%. It is clear then that French Canadian managers show greater incompatibility with respect to this aspect of family conflict than do their English Canadian counterparts.

Taking Scale B as a whole then, the average French Canadian manager believes that special treatment (in terms of remuneration) should be afforded the man with family obligations, a trend of findings which suggests that the two ethnic groups do in fact think quite differently about the reward system of an organization, and the average French Canadian manager's view seems, at least in some degree, to be at variance with industrial practices with regard to the compensation of the married man with family obligations.

Let us now turn to an analysis of the responses of the two groups to Scale C, the second minor scale of family conflict. This scale, as previously noted, concerns the degree to which family life should be organized around the manager's job, and is composed of Statements 31 and 32. Table 27 shows the means of the two groups for this scale. It can be seen at a glance that for all fifteen level comparisons, the French Canadian means are larger than those of the English Canadians. This result is,

Table 4.27 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Family Conflict, Scale C, for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(110)	6.0 *	(34)	5.2 *		
C ₁	EC	(78)	4.0	(86)	4.3		
C ₃	FC	(128)	5.8 *	(80)	5.5 *		
C ₃	EC	(86)	3.8	(73)	3.9		
C ₁₀	FC	(74)	6.4 *	(21)	5.9 *		
C ₁₀	EC	(125)	4.3	(92)	4.4		
C ₄	FC	(150)	4.7 *	(112)	5.0 *	(6)	5.8 *
C ₄	EC	(146)	3.8	(171)	4.1	(60)	4.3
C ₅	FC	(148)	5.5 *	(44)	5.6 *		
C ₅	EC	(253)	4.0	(93)	4.3		
C ₂	FC	(308)	5.4 *	(245)	5.3 *	(17)	5.9 *
C ₉	EC	(79)	4.1	(112)	4.1	(28)	3.8
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC		-		-	(19)	5.5 *
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC		-		-	(103)	4.3

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

of course, significant and indicates that in comparison to English Canadian managers, French Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, apparently show more compatibility between this aspect of family welfare and organizational demands. Stated another way, French Canadian managers believe, to a greater extent than do their English Canadian management counterparts, that family life should be organized around, and integrated with, the individual's role as a manager in industry. It can be noted too that in all fifteen instances in which the means of French Canadians exceed those of English Canadians, these means are larger by a significant magnitude, showing that French Canadian managers of all companies at all levels agree with the statement much more than do English Canadian managers.

These results are, of course, in the direction opposite to that predicted, and thus, Hypothesis III, which predicted more incompatibility on the part of the French Canadian group (and therefore more family-organization compatibility for English Canadians), is not supported for Scale C.

Considering the over-all perception of compatibility, it was found that the mean score for the total French Canadian group was 5.5, (with a standard deviation of 2.3), while for the total English Canadian management group, it was 4.1 (with a standard deviation of 1.8). This over-all difference is a significant one, and when viewed along with the fifteen mean differences of large magnitude, shows that the two ethnic groups are indeed far apart in their views of the integration of family life with the demands of one's organizational role. Considering the over-

all mean levels of both groups, one can see that they are indeed low. One could consider that the average English Canadian had achieved "41% compatibility" between this aspect of family life and organizational demands, while for the average French Canadian, it was 55%. According to the standards outlined previously (page 252, Footnote), it would appear that "excessive" conflict is apparent for both ethnic groups, but as emphasized, much less for French Canadians. More will be said on this point after examining the individual statements.

So that the reader may examine in more detail the specific aspects of differences between the two groups on this dimension of family-industry relationships, the results of Statements 31 and 32 are shown, respectively, in Tables 9 and 10 of Appendix Y. Turning first to Table 9, it can be seen that the percentages of managers who agree with this statement concerning the wife's role in relation to the manager's work life, are quite high for both ethnic groups, with the majority of the percentages being above the 60% level, and with six of them above 70% (only three falling below 50%). This indicates, of course, that with respect to this statement, there is a good deal of agreement that the wife's role is to "back up" the husband by organizing family life. This rather strong endorsement of the statement is surprising in view of the fact that the over-all compatibility with the scale as a whole is, as noted above, very low -- a point which will be mentioned again in the analysis of Statement 32.

However, when one contrasts the percentages of the two ethnic groups who agree with the statement, it is clear that French Canadian

managers show considerably more interest in this kind of integration than do their English Canadian colleagues. The trend of difference across levels is a significant one, and in addition, thirteen of the fifteen level comparisons show French Canadian groups to have higher percentages of agreement by a significant magnitude. This can be seen also by the fact that for French Canadians, seven of the percentages exceed 70% (with two in the 80's), while none of the English Canadian percentages reach this level. In fact, all but four English Canadian percentages are below the 60% level, (with one below 40%), while for the French Canadian group, only one percentage is below the 60% level. To a much stronger degree than their English Canadian colleagues then, French Canadians believe that the wife's role is to organize family life in order to release her husband to dedicate himself to his career in business.

Turning next to Statement 32, Table 10 shows that, in marked contrast to Statement 31, the percentages of managers who agree with this statement reflecting the tie-in between the manager's career efforts and his role as a father, are quite low for both ethnic groups. The percentages for both groups range from a low of 6.5% to a high of 47.4%, and most of the percentages fall well below 30%. It can be seen then that the relatively low compatibility among the two groups with respect to Scale C is very largely accounted for by the low agreement on this statement (since agreement was high for statement 31). There is, in short, a sharp difference between these two statements in over-all levels of compatibility.

The two ethnic groups differ very strongly in their endorsement

of this statement despite the low over-all agreement noted above. In short, the French Canadian group shows strikingly more approval in their responses to this statement than do English Canadians. This can be seen by the significant trend of difference across levels, and also by the fifteen out of fifteen differences of large magnitude between the two groups at particular levels in the various companies. It is worth noting that not a single percentage exceeds 20% for the English Canadian group, while for the French Canadian group, not one percentage falls below 20%. In fact, for this latter group, the percentages of French Canadians who agree with the statement are above 40% in four cases, and above 30% in ten cases. This pattern of results clearly signifies that many more French Canadians than English Canadians are of the opinion that the manager should go "all out" in his career efforts if he is to be a good father to his children.

The research findings for Scale C are indeed puzzling, since they apparently show that French Canadians believe more than do English Canadians that family life and business life should be integrated. Certainly, among many people, the image of the English Canadian manager is one whose distinguishable characteristic is his alliance with his wife, a sort of partnership arrangement, in the pursuit of business success (statement 31) and one who is expected to show high dedication and ambition in his work (statement 32). The researchers certainly did not expect to find that this was more a characteristic of French Canadian managers. It is the views of the researchers that these results can best be understood in relation to

the findings for Scales A and B.

In reviewing these findings, it will be recalled that for Scale A, French Canadians showed more perceived conflict between family life and organizational demands than did English Canadians, though the differences between the two ethnic groups were not extremely large, chiefly because the results were reversed for Statement 50 (that is, French Canadians show significantly less conflict on the statement which specified that all of the businessman's energies should be directed toward work, without harming his family). Differences between the two groups on Scale A are revealing, particularly with respect to the different pattern of results between the French and English Canadians. In contrast to the English Canadian, many more French Canadians believe that one cannot and does not have a normal family life (statements 58 and 16) and that business success can lead to having problem-children (statement 43). In addition, this French Canadian does not tend to perceive a relationship between success in business and family spirit (statement 55). Finally, he feels that once successful, one's energies should be directed solely to the family (statement 50). This pattern of findings indicates that a much greater number of French Canadians than English Canadians have trouble integrating family and business life. In short, the average French Canadian desires a happy and harmonious family life as well as success in business. Like the English Canadian, he wishes to have the best of both worlds, but one gets the distinct impression that he finds both worlds to be much more incompatible than would the English Canadian. His personal philosophy seems to express itself as: "One cannot achieve both success and a normal family life, the kind that one wants or

aspires to, at one and the same time -- the energies used in achieving the one are just not available for the other". That is, the conflict appears to stem from the fact that, in his opinion, business success, if pursued, does not allow him to lead the kind of family life that he would like to have, although it does not compromise his family life or marriage, nor seriously hamper the children's life adjustment.

Scale B, it will be remembered, revealed that the French Canadian expresses a belief that a married man with dependents should receive more compensation than a single man. In short, to the French Canadians, monetary gain is important and appears to be directly related to family obligations. A successful career therefore provides the financial reward needed to lead a comfortable and secure family life. These points bring us to the interpretation of Scale C. Success, as measured in terms of promotion, is necessary if one is to fulfill completely one's role as father of the family, that is, be a good provider for the family (statement 32). But, since one cannot have or does not have a normal family life when one works hard to achieve success (as we have seen with Scale A), then family life must be, for a time at least, subjugated. Hence, one must work with no regard for one's time, in order to get as many promotions as possible in a company (statement 32). In order to do this, "it is a wife's duty to organize family life so that her husband can devote himself to his work as much as he desires" (statement 31). Until financial security is obtained, there is considerable merit in working "all out" for promotions, since it is the duty of a good family man to assure the financial security of his family.

Once having "made the grade" in business, once having secured this financial independence, family life can then be "renewed" or "lived as it should be lived" (statement 41, Scale A).

In this sense, the marked contrast with the English Canadian view of family in relation to business is revealed. To the French Canadian, success in the commercial world is seen as a means to the later full and exclusive enjoyment of family life. To a much greater extent than the French Canadian, the English Canadian indicates in his responses to the scales, that it is possible to achieve business success and at the same time have a normal family life (statements 58 and 16). He sees these two values as two separate and independent entities that can be pursued and fulfilled simultaneously. He therefore does not look for or even expect special treatment in terms of compensation simply because he has dependents (Scale B). Nor does he feel, to nearly the same extent as does his French Canadian colleague in management, that his wife should marshall the family for the benefit of his career. Working with no regard for one's time, is not in his opinion a good way to fulfill one's role as father of the family (Scale C). In short, the subjugation of the family simply does not enter into the English Canadian's thinking to the same extent as it does to the French Canadian, nor is it the English Canadian manager's aim to "withdraw" from business to devote most of his time to the family, once success has been achieved (Statement 41 of Scale A).

In this contrast between the French Canadian and the English Canadian manager, the key concepts for understanding their different points

of view is the maximum expenditure of time and energy. Statement 50 of Scale A refers to "all of his energies to get promotions", while Statement 32 of Scale C refers to "to work with no regard for one's time, in order to get as many promotions as possible". Statement 31 of Scale C concerns the husband devoting himself to his work as much as he desires, while Statement 41 states that he should devote most of his energies to his family. The French Canadian is thus willing to expend a considerably greater amount of effort in order to "make the grade", indicating that the economic welfare of his family depends to a larger extent on this amount of effort. Thus, for him, success depends on the temporary subjugation of family to the pursuit of success and monetary gain, while for the English Canadian, indications are that the two realms of life are viewed as separate and distinct, and can be fulfilled without necessarily subordinating the family to the service of his career.

These views of the French Canadian, in contrast to those of the English Canadian manager, may stem from the historically-based view of the male role in French Canadian society, namely, that his role in life is mainly that of the "bread winner", a highly family-centered role which hardly encompasses the fulfillment of another basic human need: to develop one's potentialities and gain deep satisfaction from work itself. This latter factor is much more the impelling motive of the male within the Anglo-Saxon culture. Prior to the rapid industrialization of French Canada, the French Canadian never had to face this problem since, in an essentially rural society, work was essentially family-centered. Historically,

the French Canadian's farm (or small local shop) was truly "his own". He was therefore quite free to be, and in fact was, immediately available to his family and constantly involved in family affairs. With the rapid industrialization of French Canadian society, however, the French Canadian appears to be attempting in his own way to adapt to new conditions by oscillating between two extreme solutions over time: a period of life when family is subordinated to work, followed by a period when work is subordinated to family.

This mode of adaptation of the French Canadian means, in the views of the researchers, that he is basically not identified with work. To him, work at the managerial level is not an end in itself worth pursuing, but a means to an end. The fact that he demands special financial compensation reflects this lack of basic interest in work (Scale B). This interpretation is very much in line with the current research findings in the area of work motivation, specifically, those of Herzberg and his associates (1959). The results of this research in industry reveal that remuneration is a "dissatisfier" for employees (above the hourly-rated level). That is, financial gain is an important goal for those who do not find high satisfaction in the challenge and growth opportunities which involvement in the tasks and goals of the organization itself brings.

It is worth considering that the strong (though temporary) investment the French Canadian feels he must make toward success in business

may in fact render him more vulnerable to any set-back or hindrance in his career as a manager, since it would be seen by him as a threat to his family. In short, he would likely be less tolerant of the inevitable "ups and downs" of a business career than would the English Canadian manager who does not perceive this type of link between family and career life. Because of this strong drive then, many French Canadians are very likely seen as ambitious, hard-working members of management by those in higher echelons. Yet considerable confusion among top management people could be caused by the very probable tendency for the French Canadian to "taper off" in his effort and dedication once he has attained a reasonable level of success (probably within middle management). In short, the consternation which would result when the promising and budding career of the young French Canadian manager fails to materialize over time, might possibly be a contributing cause to the current state of affairs in which few French Canadians reach the top in bicultural organizations¹.

In view of these interpretations, the researchers are led to very seriously doubt that Scale C does, in fact, measure conflict in the same manner as do Scales A and B, but rather, it very likely reflects a type or mode of adaptation to conflict. Certainly, the researchers now

¹ It should be remembered that a large number of English Canadians as well as French Canadians agree that the wife's role is to back-up the husband's career (statement 31). It is simply that a much larger number of French Canadian managers endorse this view. In addition, the number of managers who agree that there is a close link between the husband's career and his role as father (statement 32) is small for both ethnic groups, but many more French Canadians feel this way than do English Canadians. Our interpretation should therefore be looked upon as a relative one and not an absolute one.

feel that they were in error in considering disagreement with these statements as reflecting conflict, particularly in view of their strong wording. However, in hindsight, it is our view that the scale did reveal interesting and highly pertinent information regarding this mode of adaptation, particularly of French Canadian managers, to the demands of family and business.

In order to provide an empirical check on this revised approach to the interpretation of Scale C, it was decided to compute correlations among the results of the three scales to determine whether in fact, Scale C did measure conflict¹, as did Scale A and B. It was found that the correlation between Scales A and B were significantly large, indicating that these two sets of statements did measure the conflict dimension, while the correlation of Scale C with both A and with B was not significant. In fact these correlations were extremely low, indicating of course, that as suspected, Scale C did measure an attitude dimension other than conflict.

Before concluding the analysis of the Family Conflict dimension, a comparison of the means between organizational levels for each of the three scales is worth noting. On scale A, the means for the French Canadian group was found to be 6.8 (with a σ^2 of 1.5) for the first level of

¹ Pearson Product Moment correlations were used in this computation. It was found that the correlations between Scales A and B were .22 and .21 (for English Canadians and French Canadians respectively), while a correlation between Scale C and Scales A and B were zero or close to zero for both ethnic groups. ² Hereafter, σ will be used to symbolize standard deviation.

management, 6.9 (with a σ of 1.5) for the second level, and 6.7 (with a σ of 1.6) for level three. For the English Canadian group, the means and σ for levels 1, 2 and 3 were, respectively, 7.1 (σ 1.5), 7.3 (σ 1.3) and 7.5 (σ 1.2). Thus, for the French Canadian there is no trend of difference in compatibility going from the lowest to the highest level of management, while for the English Canadian, a slight trend of difference does exist, with greater compatibility the higher the organizational level.

For Scale B, the means of the French Canadian group were found to be 6.7 (σ 2.8) for level 1, 7.7 (σ 2.3) for level 2, and 7.9 (σ 2.2) for level 3, while for the English Canadian group, the means were 8.2 (σ 2.0) for level 1, 8.3 (σ 1.9) for level 2 and 8.7 (σ 1.5) for the third level. A trend of difference is thus shown across organizational levels for the French Canadian group, with successively higher levels showing greater compatibility (particularly between levels 1 and 2), and for the English Canadian group likewise, a trend toward greater compatibility at successively higher levels is indicated, though a slightly smaller trend than for the French Canadian group. It is interesting to note the larger difference between the two ethnic groups at level 1, a difference of 1.4 between the two means.

Finally, for Scale C, the French Canadian means were 5.5 (σ 2.4), 5.3 (σ 2.2), and 5.7 (σ 2.0) respectively for levels 1, 2 and 3. For English Canadians, the means were 4.0 (σ 1.9), 4.2 (σ 1.7), and 4.2

(σ 1.8) for the three successive levels. These data show that no trend occurs across organizational levels for either ethnic group, indicating that adaptation to the demands of family and business is the same or close to the same for managers at all three organizational levels. The relevance of these findings will be made explicit in the concluding summary of this report, in which recommendations are made for improving rapport among groups of managers at these three levels.

In summary, French Canadian managers show significantly higher conflict on Scales A and B, while on Scale C, they show a significantly different mode of adapting to, or resolving conflict than do English Canadian managers. These differences between both ethnic groups exist at all levels of management¹.

(B) Individual

The pattern of relationships between the twelve statements originally intended to measure this dimension of conflict (see page 125) revealed that four statements had to be dropped because they showed little or no relationship to the majority of the other statements. It was found that these latter eight statements could, for both ethnic groups, meaningfully form a core scale, hereafter referred to as Scale D. For the reader's convenience, these statements are reproduced below, in order of importance in terms of their connotation of meaning for this scale.

¹ These differences are statistically significant beyond the .03 level of confidence.

Statement 30: "Generally, in industry, people are worked like machines."

Statement 35: "In general, industry attaches more importance to the machine than it does to the human being."

Statement 46: "Industry is inhuman because the only important thing to industry is production."

Statement 38: "In general, the top management of large companies have little respect for the individuality of a person."

Statement 23: "In large companies, the only thing that counts is production."

Statement 40: "The more an individual gets ahead in a large company, the more he is led to become a slave of the organization."

Statement 57: "A company that insists on increasing its output and profits, in order to expand its operations, is inhuman."

Statement 27: "It is difficult to understand why truly capable and self-respecting individuals accept working all their life in an industrial environment."

As can be seen by examining the content of these statements, particularly the first four or five, the major theme of this scale centers around conflicts engendered by strong feelings of loss of personal dignity emerging from a sense of being used or exploited at work, in a "de-humanized" and production-oriented environment. Table 28 presents the mean scores for each of the two ethnic groups across all companies and levels included in this study. It can be seen that in fourteen of the fifteen ethnic comparisons possible, the French Canadian group mean is lower than that of the English Canadian corresponding group, (in Company 1, level 2, the means are equal). It can also be seen that in thirteen cases, the difference between the two means is statistically significant, indicating that not only is the trend significant, but

Table 4.28 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Individual Conflict, Scale D for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(107) 6.3*	(32) 7.7	
C ₁	EC	(78) 6.9	(83) 7.7	
C ₃	FC	(119) 6.6*	(80) 7.4*	
C ₃	EC	(83) 7.2	(72) 8.0	
C ₁₀	FC	(72) 6.4*	(21) 7.0*	
C ₁₀	EC	(124) 7.1	(91) 7.8	
C ₄	FC	(150) 5.6*	(109) 6.7*	(6) 8.2
C ₄	EC	(147) 6.4	(171) 7.5	(60) 8.4
C ₅	FC	(147) 5.7*	(43) 6.5*	
C ₅	EC	(246) 6.7	(92) 7.0	
C ₂	FC	(302) 5.7*	(244) 6.3*	(16) 5.9*
C ₉	EC	(78) 6.7	(103) 7.2	(27) 7.2
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(20) 7.3*
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC			(99) 8.3

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

that in most instances, the average French Canadian manager is in greater conflict than is his English Canadian peer by large and significant amounts. In fact, the over-all mean score for the French Canadian management group is only 6.2 (σ 1.7), while that of the English Canadian management group is 7.2 (σ 1.6). It is interesting to note that the English Canadian mean is not as high as it could or should be, if one considers a mean of 7.5 as being the recognized standard. There is therefore a fair amount of conflict, even among English Canadian managers on this particular point, a fact which is not too surprising in view of the traditional "hard-nosed", "tough-minded" climates of large industrial organizations. Although this general state of affairs is well recognized as evidenced by the proliferation of human relations training programmes in the past decade, it would appear that there is still a significantly strong general feeling of uneasiness and frustration with regard to the human relations climate that prevails.

What is particularly disturbing, however, is the excessive amount of conflictual feelings permeating the French Canadian groups. Reference to Table 28 indicates that in eight of the fifteen groups, the mean score is 6.5 or below, four of which are below 6.0. Five of the six level 1 French Canadian groups have a mean score below 6.5 (of which three means are in fact below 6.0). It is indeed obvious that the French Canadian level 1 manager feels "left out", unappreciated as a person, a victim of economic exploitation, and misunderstood, as would be expected in view of what we have seen of his position relative to the communication net previously described in the comparisons of goal rankings.

It is also of interest to note that third level French Canadian managers of company 2, the only French Canadian company of our sample, have the fourth lowest mean score of all, 5.9. This mean, being considerably lower than that found among their third level French Canadian peers in a bicultural setting (7.3 and 8.2) clearly reveals the extent to which negative feelings about industry are engrained within the culture. It also, in contrast, indicates to what extent this negative image can change within a bicultural setting.

The important differential impact that industry has on each of these two ethnic groups is dramatically illustrated by examining each statement in terms of the percentage of managers who agree with the statement. Six of the eight statements showed significant differences in the predicted direction. One statement (27) showed a significant difference in the opposite direction, while on one other (40), the two groups did not give significantly different responses. Tables 11 and 12 of Appendix Y present the distribution of groups of managers who agreed with Statements 30 and 35 respectively. Both statements essentially refer to the same concept: industry does not treat people as human beings but rather works them like machines. It can be seen that group variations in percentage are quite high for both statements, the former varying from 8.1% to 62%, the latter having a range of from 0% to 57.8%. Many more French Canadian managers agree with these two statements than do English Canadian managers, however. This can be seen by considering the range in percentage variation for both groups separately. For

statement 30, the English Canadian percentages vary - from 8.1% to 50.1% - with two percentages below 10%, seven between 10% and 30%, five between 30% and 40%, and only one at the 50% level. In contrast, the French Canadian group percentages range from a minimum of 16.7% to a maximum of 62%, with none below 10%, only four between 10% and 30%, only three between 30% and 40%, and eight above 40%, of which three are in the fifties, and one in the sixties. In six comparisons, approximately twice as many French Canadian managers agree with the statement while in one other instance (combined companies of level 3) the percentage of French Canadians who agree is over four times as large as that of the English Canadians. It is interesting to note that the discrepancies between both groups are large at level 3 and that all told, thirteen of the fifteen comparisons reveal statistically significant differences.

As one might expect, a similar pattern exists for Statement 35 (table 12 of appendix Y). The English Canadian percentages range from 7.8% to 41.3%, with five percentages below 20%, four between 20% and 30%, five between 30% and 40%, and one at 41.3%. French Canadian percentages, on the other hand, range between 0% to 57.8%, with only one percentage below 20%, four between 20% and 30%, three between 30% and 40% and a total of eight above 40%, five of which are in the fifties. In three companies (two at the third level of management) more than twice as many French Canadians agree with this statement. In fourteen of the fifteen companies the differences are statistically significant, with more French Canadians being in agreement with this statement. Turning to Statements 46 and 23 presented in Tables 13 and 14 respectively (appendix Y), the same differential pattern appears.

This is not surprising in view of the fact that both statements refer to the same notion of almost exclusive preoccupation for production on the parts of industry, with Statement 46 relating both statements to the two former statements previously analyzed (statements 30 and 35) by introducing the qualification of "being inhuman". English Canadian groups vary from 1.6% to 36.9%, while French Canadian groups, from 0% to 54% of members who agree with the statement. In the latter case, ten percentages are above 30%, three between 15% and 30% and two below 15%, while in the former case, only one percentage is above 30%, seven are between 15% and 30% and seven are below 15%. The percentage differences between both groups are significant and large in fourteen of the fifteen cases. Statement 23 clearly reveals that a majority of French Canadian groups agree more than they disagree with the notion that the exclusive concern of large firms is production, while no English Canadian groups fall in this category. While French Canadian percentages range from 16.7% to 70.9%, English Canadian percentages only vary from 10% to 49%. There are ten groups where more than 50% of French Canadian managers agree with the statement, a situation which never occurred, with regard to English Canadian groups. Here also, fourteen of the fifteen differences are large and significant. In fact, in ten cases, the percentage difference is as high or almost as high as 20%. It is interesting to note the particularly large difference between the third level managers of Company 2 (the French Canadian company) and those of Company 6 (the English Canadian company), a difference of 38.5%, indicating the strong negative image of industry held by many senior French Canadian managers who have not been as exposed as others to a bicultural setting.

Statement 38, presented in Table 15 (appendix Y), reveals another dimension of industry's purported inhumanity to man and on which the two ethnic groups differ in opinion, namely the lack of respect for a person's individuality. In seven instances, more than 50% of French Canadian managers agree with this statement while in only one instance does this occur with English Canadian managers. In thirteen of the fifteen comparisons, the differences are large and significant in the predicted direction.

The statement which contributed the least to the over-all discrepancy between the two groups, but which nevertheless indicated a significant trend is Statement 57, shown in Table 16 (appendix Y). Although most of the differences between both groups are rather small, a few of them are of some importance since three are over 10%, and in two of the three third level comparisons, the differences are quite large. Although the great majority of French Canadian managers disagree with this statement, it is nevertheless important to note that at this third level, the percentage of French Canadians who do agree is definitely higher than the percentage of English Canadians.

We have seen so far in contrasting French Canadian managers to English Canadian managers, that the former, much more than the latter, are of the opinion that industrial organizational climates are fundamentally inhuman in that these organizations value industrial productivity to the exclusion of other basic human considerations such as the individuality of the person, and even to the extent of debasing human nature by treating people more as machines than as human beings. This being the case, why then, would significantly more English Canadian managers, over-all, agree with Statement 27 shown in

Table 17 (appendix Y) than would French Canadians?

First of all, it should be pointed out that relatively few people actually agree with this statement. In approximately one third of the cases, the percentage agreement is 10% or less while in approximately two thirds of the groups, the percentage agreement is less than 20%, the highest percentage being 28.3%. Secondly the percentage difference between the two ethnic groups is small (only six are statistically significant). Although the trend is a significant one, it would appear that, for all practical purposes, it is not an important one. In short, English Canadians do, in fact, agree more with this statement but not by much, certainly not enough to consider this difference in trend to be an important barrier to communications between both groups (the average discrepancy is less than 5%).

At first glance, it is nevertheless surprising to find that, in view of their responses to the statements previously analyzed, so few French Canadians agree with statement 27. The researchers are of the opinion that its formulation could account for this fact. It is indeed a very strongly worded statement for people who are working in industry. Thus, one would expect that only very conflicted individuals would agree with it. This undoubtedly explains the low percentage of agreement found and the fact that the statement does measure conflict, being part of the scale. We feel that most people who would manifest conflictual feelings in other statements or scales can still disagree with this statement, however, as long as they do have a personal reason, legitimate to them, for doing so. For example, we have seen that many French Canadians are willing to work in industry to best fulfill their role of "bread winner" in the family. Thus any individual who

is of the opinion that work in industry is a sort of "necessary evil", to fulfill this economic role, would certainly disagree with this statement. The statement then, is an extreme one in that it reflects the attitudes of those who see no reason at all for making a career in industry. Viewed in this manner, this distribution of percentages is not really out of line.

Before concluding the analysis of "Individual Conflict" statements, it should be noted that a fairly high number of managers, in both cultures, agree with Statement 40 (the distribution of percentages are seen in Table 7 of appendix Z). In fact, all but one of the thirty percentages are above 50% and fourteen are above 70%. The responses to this statement obviously served to reduce the over-all scale mean scores by a fair amount. On such a strongly worded statement, the researchers would have expected this statement to differentiate rather well between the two cultural groups. Although a discussion of the theoretical implications in terms of organization theory that could explain why the divergence between the two ethnic groups is not as great as anticipated would be beyond the scope of this study, a few words are in order.

As seen in Table 7 (appendix Z) it is apparent that this lack of clear discrepancy stems from the fact that a very high proportion of English Canadians also agree with the statement at all levels of management.

To better understand the meaning of the statement, a comparison between it and Statement 38 (table 15 of appendix Y) is useful. It can be seen that managers of both cultures agree more with the former than with the latter. Furthermore, again for both cultural groups, the discrepancies between the two statements in terms of percentage agreement for the groups

increase at successively higher levels of management. At successively higher levels then, managers (French Canadian and English Canadian) are disagreeing more and more that "top management has little respect for the individuality of a person" while agreeing as much or almost as much from one level to the next that "the more an individual gets ahead, the more he is led to become a slave to the organization". It is apparent that Statement 38 refers more to the individuality of a person in general terms. Having much less personal reference for the respondent than Statement 40, a middle manager could easily feel that his peers or those immediately above him did indeed respect the individuality of people in general, yet at the same time feel that he, himself, was becoming more and more a slave in the organization. In the researchers' opinions, the specific connotation of "slave" can best be interpreted as reflecting a conflict between a top manager's personal convictions and the role expected of him in his managerial position: that of often having to depend or carry through on a particular policy that he personally does not adhere to. The particularly heavy burden and resulting strain that this conflict can and does create in middle and top management is well brought out by such authors as Katz and Kahn, (1966) Kahn and others (1964), and Reisman (1951) in their discussions of the notion of "role readiness" and the internalization of values.

In concluding this analysis of "Individual Conflict, Scale D, it is interesting to point out that, as one would normally expect, there is less over-all conflict for both cultural groups at successively higher levels of management. The mean scores for the French Canadian groups are 5.9 (σ 1.7)

6.7 (σ 1.6) and 6.9 (σ 1.6) at levels 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Those of the English Canadian groups are 6.8 (σ 1.6), 7.5 (σ 1.5), and 8.2 (σ 1.2) at the same corresponding levels. The differences between the English Canadian and French Canadian groups are nevertheless large and significant at each of these levels.¹

In summary, these results clearly indicate that French Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, do not at all perceive the organizational climate of industry in the same manner as their English Canadian peers do, at all three levels of management. Relatively speaking, to the French Canadian, the organizational climate of industry is threatening and frustrating because it is essentially a depersonalized environment, one in which the human element is ignored, serving only in an instrumental capacity toward the realization of organizational growth through productivity at the expense of personal development. To the French Canadian manager then, industrial organizations are much less compatible with his ideals and human aspirations than they are to the English Canadian manager. Hypothesis III is thus strongly supported.

(C) Society

The third dimension of conflict was investigated with the use of ten statements (statements 12, 13, 19, 25, 29, 36, 47, 53, 54 and 56). Three statements (13, 36 and 56) were dropped from further consideration as

¹These differences are statistically significant beyond the .03 level of confidence.

a result of the analysis of the intercorrelation matrix which revealed that they had little or no significant relationship with the remaining statements. Analysis of these latter statements brought out the existence of two core scales, a major one consisting of five statements and a minor one composed of two statements. The major scale, Scale E, comprises the following statements:

Statement 47 "The more a society becomes industrialized, the less chance it has of progressing on a cultural level."

Statement 54 "The individual who strives to satisfy his personal interests in business does not contribute to the development of society."

Statement 53 "If companies were not trying to make so much profit, there would be less unemployment."

Statement 12 "Businessmen have a greater tendency than other people to further their own interests at the expense of the welfare of society."

Statement 29 "It is just about impossible to work for money and for the welfare of society at the same time."

This scale is a generalized one in that it expresses an overall perception of incompatibility between the pursuit of material gain or personal interests in an industrial context and the welfare of society. The over-riding themes are that the process of industrialization hampers cultural growth, the excessive pursuit of profit by companies creates unemployment, and the satisfaction of personal interests in business are generally incompatible with the development of a better society. Feelings of general mistrust toward people involved in business and toward those who "work for money" are to some extent related to these themes.

The minor scale, hereafter referred to as Scale F, is composed of the following two statements:

Statement 19: "The majority of big industrialists take the welfare and the needs of society into account when they plan the economic development of their business."

Statement 25: "The more an industrialist becomes wealthy, the more he renders service to society."

Although somewhat related to Scale E (the Pearson correlation coefficient is .25 for the French Canadian group and .26 for the English Canadian group), these two statements formed a separate cluster because they referred to a very specific aspect of this major dimension, namely: the image of the powerful and wealthy industrial entrepreneur, the type of man who is responsible for the present "bigness" or organization similar to the ones to which the managers of this study belong. Specifically, the scale measures the extent to which an individual feels that this wealth and power, in short this influence, is used to the betterment of society.

It is inferred that the more agreement with statements of Scale E and disagreement with statements of Scale F, the more perceived conflict between the individual's role as a responsible member of the organization and his role as a contributing member of society.

Table 29 presents the results for Scale E. In all fifteen ethnic group comparisons, the English Canadian mean score is higher than that of the French Canadian mean score and in thirteen of these comparisons, the difference between the two cultural groups is statistically significant. The over-all French Canadian mean is 5.9 (σ 1.8) and that of the English

Table 4.29 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Society Conflict, Scale E, for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(107) 5.8 *	(33) 7.2 *	
C ₁	EC	(78) 6.8	(85) 8.1	
C ₃	FC	(126) 5.8 *	(80) 6.8 *	
C ₃	EC	(85) 6.9	(73) 7.9	
C ₁₀	FC	(72) 6.0 *	(21) 6.5 *	
C ₁₀	EC	(124) 7.3	(90) 7.8	
C ₄	FC	(150) 5.5 *	(112) 6.5 *	(5) 7.5
C ₄	EC	(148) 6.4	(172) 7.7	(61) 8.4
C ₅	FC	(145) 5.4 *	(43) 6.7	
C ₅	EC	(249) 6.5	(93) 7.2	
C ₂	FC	(303) 5.3 *	(245) 6.2 *	(17) 6.3 *
C ₉	EC	(80) 6.7	(111) 7.1	(27) 7.4
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	-	-	(19) 7.5 *
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC			(103) 8.1

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

Canadian group is 7.2 (\pm 1.6.). It is evident that French Canadian managers express much more role conflict on this dimension than do English Canadians. Although the English Canadian over-all mean is not too high, inspection of the company-by-level means reveals that this is mainly due to the rather low group means at level 1 (five means between 6.0 and 7.0). An examination of the distribution of French Canadian means reveals however, that five means are below 6.0, five others between 6.0 and 6.5, and only three above 7.0 thereby indicating that the level of conflict among these management groups is high and fairly generalized.

On all five statements that comprise this scale, the trend of differences in the direction of French Canadian managers agreeing more, as a group, than English Canadian managers is statistically significant. Thus, for Statement 47, shown in Table 18 of Appendix Y, although it is clear that the majority of managers disagree with the statement (the range being from 4.9% to 36.9% of managers who agree), it can be seen that for the French Canadian groups, seven percentages are above 30%, four between 20% and 30%, four between 10% and 19.9% and none below 10%, while for the English Canadian groups, only one is above 30%, five between 20% and 30%, seven between 10% and 19.9% and two below 10%. In nine comparisons, the differences are statistically significant.

The differences between the two groups are quite marked with regard to Statement 54. As can be seen from Table 19 of Appendix Y, the majority of English Canadian managers disagree with this statement (the range being from 11.4% to 39.5%) while, in many groups, the majority of French Canadian

managers agree with it, (the percentage agreement varying from 25% to 69.6%). In nine French Canadian groups, the percentage agreement is above 50% (with six in the sixties), in three other groups it is between 40% and 50% while in the remaining three groups, it is below 40%. In contrast, in all English Canadian groups, less than 40% of the managers agree with the statement (in four groups, less than 20% agree). It is interesting to note the unusually large discrepancies between the two groups at two of the three third level comparisons. All told, in nine instances, more than twice as many French Canadians agree with Statement 54 while almost twice as many do in the remaining six. In addition, this difference between the two groups is significant at all fifteen level-by-company comparisons. Thus, a great deal more French Canadian managers feel that the satisfaction of one's personal interests in business is incongruent with the welfare of society. Most English Canadian managers disagree with this assertion.

Rather large differences of opinion also exist with regard to Statement 53, as shown in Table 20 of Appendix Y. Here also, the percentage agreement is higher for the French Canadian groups in all fifteen comparisons (thirteen being higher by a statistically significant amount). Although, generally speaking, more individuals disagree than agree with this statement, in seven French Canadian groups the percentage agreement is above 45%, in seven others it is between 20% and 45% while in the remaining group, it is below 20%. On the other hand, in only two English Canadian groups is the percentage agreement above 45%, and in six others, it is below 25%. Many more French Canadian managers then believe that large companies' pursuit

of profits are excessive and to the detriment of the welfare of society in terms of unemployment.

Although the majority of managers of both ethnic groups disagree with Statement 29 (the over-all range is between 3.3% and 37.3%), French Canadian managers, as an ethnic group, perceive nevertheless much more incompatibility between working for money and the welfare of society than do English Canadian managers. Table 21 of Appendix Y reveals that, in nine French Canadian groups, the percentage agreement is above 25% (with six in the thirties), the remaining six groups varying between 10% and 25%, while in no English Canadian group does one find a percentage agreement above 25%, and, in five groups, it is below 10%. Moreover, in fourteen of the fifteen comparisons, the differences are large and statistically significant. In fact, the gap between the two groups is particularly evident at level 3 where in one instance, the proportion of French Canadians who agree is twice as large, in another, almost five times as large, and in the comparison involving the unicultural companies, almost ten times as large! The significance of these findings in terms of creating barriers to communication between the two ethnic groups in top management cannot be overestimated.

Finally, it can be seen from Table 22 of Appendix Y that, in eleven groups, more than 50% of the French Canadian managers agree with Statement 12 (in four groups, more than 60% do) while in only three groups do more than 50% of English Canadian managers agree (and none of the sixties) that businessmen are more apt to pursue their personal interests at the

expense of society. It is apparent that although both ethnic groups are surprisingly self-critical, many more French Canadian managers are willing to direct this reproach at business than are English Canadian managers.

Before turning to the analysis of the next scale, it should be noted that the perceived compatibility between being a good member of the management team and a useful member of society is greater at successively higher levels of management for both ethnic groups. The French Canadian mean scores are 5.5 (σ 1.7), 6.5 (σ 1.7) and 7.0 (σ 1.7) at levels 1, 2 and 3 respectively while the English Canadian mean scores are 6.7 (σ 1.6), 7.6 (σ 1.5) and 8.1 (σ 1.2) at the corresponding levels. It should be remembered, however, that as these results clearly indicate, English Canadian managers perceive much less conflict than their French Canadian peers at each of these three levels.¹

An analysis of the results for Scale F, the minor scale of the "Society" dimension, is now presented. As stated previously, the theme of this scale is the influence of the industrialist on the betterment of society, and it is composed of two statements, 19 and 25.

Table 30 shows for Scale F a comparison of the means of the two ethnic groups across organizational levels. Of the fifteen comparisons, the means of English Canadian managers exceed those of French Canadian managers in fourteen, and in eleven of these fourteen cases, the French

¹ These differences are all significant beyond the .03 level of confidence.

Table 4.30 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Society Conflict, Scale F, for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₂	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(109) 5.8	(33) 6.1	
C ₁	EC	(79) 6.1	(86) 6.6	
C ₃	FC	(127) 6.1*	(79) 5.8*	
C ₃	EC	(86) 6.8	(73) 6.7	
C ₁₀	FC	(73) 6.1*	(21) 5.6*	
C ₁₀	EC	(126) 6.7	(92) 6.9	
C ₄	FC	(153) 5.3*	(109) 5.3*	(6) 7.0
C ₄	EC	(150) 5.9	(171) 6.1	(60) 6.4
C ₅	FC	(148) 5.7*	(44) 5.5*	
C ₅	EC	(254) 6.3	(94) 6.2	
C ₂	FC	(308) 5.3*	(246) 5.2*	(17) 5.1
C ₉	EC	(79) 6.1	(111) 5.9	(28) 5.3
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	- -	- -	(20) 5.1 *
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	- -	- -	(102) 6.6

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

Canadian means are larger by statistically significant amounts. The over-all mean score for the total French Canadian group was found to be 5.5 (\pm 2.1), while for the total English Canadian group it was 6.3 (\pm 2.0). The difference between these two over-all means is a significant one, and when viewed along with the eleven significant differences among organizational levels, clearly indicates that English Canadians perceive much more compatibility than do the French Canadians between the interests of the industrialist and those of society. In other words, many more French Canadians than English Canadians entertain serious doubts about the beneficial influence that the industrialists' economic pursuits have on the welfare of society.

Inspection of these two over-all means reveals also that the mean levels of compatibility are quite low for both ethnic groups, indicating in fact that the managers of both groups perceive a considerable amount of "conflict of interest" between men of power and wealth in industry and the enhancement of society. As stated, however, the French Canadian management group perceives much more, and in terms of the standards set forth previously for desirable levels of compatibility (or freedom from conflict) for managers in industry, the French Canadian group's level of compatibility is "excessively" low, much more so than for the English Canadian group. Despite the relatively low levels of compatibility for both groups, their views, nevertheless, do diverge rather widely with respect to a matter presumably of important concern to members of both groups -- the impact of leaders of industries, such as those in which these managers work, on the welfare of society.

Tables 23 and 24 of Appendix Y show the percentage of agreement for the two statements in the scale (statements 19 and 25). The over-all level of agreement is somewhat higher for both ethnic groups with respect to Statement 19 than it is for Statement 25. On Statement 19, the range is from 35.4% to 100% with the majority of percentages (21 out of 30) falling within the 60% to 80% range (only seven falling below 60%). For Statement 25, the range is from 33.3% to 76.2%, (with 15 below the 60% level). This indicates of course, that a somewhat larger number of managers agree that industrialists take account of society's needs in their economic planning than agree that these industrialists render society a service in enriching themselves. In short, there is relatively high agreement among the total management force that society's needs enter into the considerations of the industrial leaders but relatively lower agreement that society really benefits in a tangible way from these considerations.

When contrasting the percentages of agreement between the two ethnic groups, one finds that the differences are large, but less so with respect to Statement 19 than 25. On Statement 19, the percentages of agreement of English Canadian groups are larger than those of the French Canadian groups, in twelve of the fifteen comparisons (of which four are larger by a significant degree). Though the trend is significant in the direction of English Canadians showing higher agreement with the statement, the small number of cases in which the English Canadian percentages are in fact larger by a significant amount, as well as the one instance in which the French Canadian percentage is significantly greater (level 3 of company 4) indicates

a tendency for both groups to respond in essentially the same manner. In short, the divergence between the two groups is not an extremely wide one. All of the percentages show that a majority (50% or more) of English Canadians agree with the statement, and all but one of the French Canadian percentages are also at or above the majority level of agreement. In fact, the French Canadian group members in Company 4, at level 3, are in complete unanimity with Statement 19. However, the English Canadian level of agreement, is somewhat higher, as seen by the fact that, while ten of the English Canadian percentages are above 65%, only three French Canadian percentages reach or surpass this level. In addition, while only two percentages are below 60% among English Canadians, the percentages are below this level in five instances for French Canadians. Thus, more English Canadians are of the opinion that industrialists consider the needs of society in planning for their own enterprises.

The differences between the two ethnic groups are quite sharp, however, on Statement 25. The percentage agreements for the English Canadian groups at the fifteen levels exceed those of French Canadian groups in thirteen cases, and twelve of the thirteen differences are statistically significant ones. It can be seen that the majority of English Canadians are in agreement at every level in every company, while in only six instances does the percentage of French Canadians reach or surpass 50%.

For English Canadians, seven percentages are 65% or above, while for the French Canadian groups, only one percentage reaches this relatively high level. Thus, many more English Canadians are of the opinion that the

accumulation of wealth by industrialists results in a service to society.

The results for Scale F indicate that a much greater number of English Canadians than French Canadians are of the opinion that the aims and achievements of the leaders of private enterprises result in a clear benefit for society. While the two groups are not substantially far apart in their belief that the industrialist takes account of society's needs in planning for the development of his enterprise (statement 19), much fewer French Canadians are convinced that society as a whole has anything to gain from the accumulation of wealth that the business leader derives from his ventures (statement 25). It is very likely that this sharp division of opinion between the two ethnic groups on the latter statement reflects a rather basic mistrust which the French Canadian feels toward those who pursue and accumulate wealth, a mistrust which is much less common among his English Canadian colleagues. This difference between the outlooks of the two groups toward the pursuit of gain will be brought out more fully in the interpretation of the "Personal Gain" scale which follows immediately.

Considering the mean scores for the three levels of management, it was found that for the English Canadian group, the means for the lower, middle and higher levels of management were found to be identical 6.3 (σ 2.0), 6.3 (σ 2.0), and 6.3 (σ 2.0), and again 6.3 (σ 1.9). For the French Canadian group, the means of the three levels were 5.6 (σ 2.2), 5.4 (σ 2.0) and 5.4 (σ 2.3). Thus no trend of greater (or less) compatibility is evident at successively higher management levels for either the French Canadian or the English Canadian group. The differences between the English Canadian and

French Canadian groups are, however, significant at all three levels of management.¹

The research findings for the "Society" dimension are clear-cut and consistent, with every statement of both Scales E and F significantly differentiating the two ethnic groups. These findings reveal unequivocally that French Canadian, much more than English Canadian, managers feel that the goals of industrial organizations and the welfare and enhancement of society are basically incompatible. That is, French Canadians experience much more role conflict with respect to their place in industry and in society than do English Canadians. Thus, hypothesis III is again supported by these findings.

This pattern of findings is of real consequence when one considers that the large number of members of these two cultures (with approximately twice as many French Canadians as English Canadians in most instances) hold these negative feelings toward industry in relation to society have positions of authority and responsibility within some of Canada's largest and most important corporations. It is not difficult to imagine that close coordination and teamwork between the two groups within these large enterprises is rendered difficult when members of the one group, French Canadians, entertain much more serious doubts than do their English Canadian colleagues that private enterprise can realistically serve the ends of the society within which it functions. Nor could one expect the French Canadian manager's full and hearty endorsement of the economic goals of the enterprise (as we

¹ These differences are significant beyond the .03 level of confidence.

have seen in the goal ranking section of this chapter), when he views these goals to be at odds with the fulfillment of his own obligations to the society in which he lives.

(D) Personal Gain

The pattern of interrelationships among the six statements which were originally selected to measure this conflict dimension (see page 29) revealed that one statement had to be dropped from consideration (statement 14) because it showed little or no relationship to the majority of the other five statements. The core scale for "Personal Gain", hereafter referred to as Scale G, thus consisted of five of the six statements. These statements are reproduced below in order of importance in terms of their connotation of meaning for this scale and the distributions of percentages are given in Tables 25 to 29 of Appendix Y:

Statement 59: "In general, people motivated by money are as honest as most people".

Statement 28: "Generally speaking, people motivated by money are not very reliable".

Statement 42: "Generally, it is dangerous to give responsibilities to people who are motivated by money".

Statement 22: "Most people motivated by money are selfish".

Statement 49: "It is more difficult for a rich man than for a poor man to remain honest".

As can be seen by inspection of these statements, especially the first few, the theme of this scale is the attitude toward those who are

motivated by monetary gain, with particular reference to the personal qualities or characteristics of such people. This scale was considered to measure compatibility or incompatibility (conflict) between one aspect of one's personal values and one's role as a manager in an industrial organization. Thus, a positive attitude toward an expression of monetary gain would be considered in compatibility with one's role as manager, since the primary function of industrial organizations is the pursuit and effective use of monetary gain. A negative attitude would, in contrast, reflect incompatibility or conflict, since such a value would be in opposition to this primary function.

Table 31 shows for Scale G a comparison of the means of the two ethnic groups across organizational levels within the companies. Of the fifteen level comparisons, the means of the English Canadian groups exceed those of the French Canadian groups in fourteen. In one instance, the mean of French Canadians exceeds that of the English Canadian management group (Company 1, level 2). This trend is, of course, a significant one, indicating that, as an ethnic group, English Canadians view much more positively than French Canadians those who seek personal gain in work, and thus show much more compatibility than do French Canadians between personal values with respect to money and this major function of industrial organizations. This Table also reveals that of the fourteen instances in which the English Canadian means exceed those of their French Canadian colleagues, the differences are large and significant ones in twelve, indicating that the views of the two groups towards those who pursue financial gain do indeed diverge widely, and these differences are spread across all levels within the various companies. In

Table 4.31 - Distributions of Mean Scores on Personal Gain Conflict, Scale G for French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) Managers, Shown by Company (C) and by Organizational Levels (L) Within Companies.

		L ₁	L ₃	L ₃
C ₁	FC	(107) 6.3*	(32) 7.6	
C ₁	EC	(78) 7.0	(86) 7.4	
C ₃	FC	(128) 5.8*	(79) 6.6*	
C ₃	EC	(86) 6.9	(73) 7.7	
C ₁₀	FC	(74) 6.3*	(21) 7.2*	
C ₁₀	EC	(124) 6.9	(92) 7.9	
C ₄	FC	(152) 6.0*	(110) 6.8*	(6) 7.8
C ₄	EC	(147) 6.9	(168) 7.7	(59) 8.2
C ₅	FC	(146) 6.1*	(44) 6.8	
C ₅	EC	(249) 6.8	(93) 7.3	
C ₂	FC	(307) 5.7*	(245) 6.2*	(17) 6.1*
C ₉	EC	(81) 7.2	(110) 7.4	(28) 7.4
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	- -	- -	(20) 7.1*
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC		- -	(102) 7.9

* Indicates a significant difference beyond the .03 level of confidence.

only Company 5 at level 2, Company 4 at the higher level of management and Company 1 at level 2, are the English Canadian means not significantly larger.

Considering the general level of opinion toward this issue, it was found that the over-all mean score for the total French Canadian group was 6.2 (σ 1.9), and for the English Canadian group, it was found to be 7.3 (σ 1.7). This difference is a significant one and when viewed along with the twelve significant differences between the means at various organizational levels, further demonstrates the wide difference between the two groups, with the English Canadian manager viewing much more positively and favorably those who are "money-minded". This finding suggests, of course, that real communication barriers between the two groups could be created because of these disparities in views. Coordination, between managers of the two groups within an environment which is created by and for monetary pursuit, could be rendered difficult when members of the one group, English Canadians, value money and are inclined much more to accept as natural the pursuit of it, much more so than do members of the other group, French Canadians.

The mean levels of both ethnic groups indicate that the managers of both groups fall below what one would consider to be a "desirable" level of compatibility (a mean of 7.5, as indicated on page 152, footnote 1). One could consider that the average English Canadian manager has attained a 73% level of compatibility, (or is 28% "in conflict"), while the average French Canadian could be said to have attained only a 62% level, (or would be 38% "in conflict"), a rather low level of compatibility or a high level of conflict.

The important point here is that while the English Canadian does not appear to accept unquestioningly the goal of financial gain, nor fully and completely favour those who do, he nevertheless does show a great deal more compatibility than does the French Canadian manager, who is very much more in a state of conflict with respect to this role.

In order to focus upon the more specific aspects of compatibility differences between the two ethnic groups, the percentages of agreement for each statement which significantly differentiated between the two groups are now presented. All of the five statements included in Scale G differentiated between French Canadian and English Canadian managers, that is, English Canadians showing significantly more compatibility, and French Canadians showing less. These statements are: 28, 42, 49, 59, and 22. Turning first to statements 28 and 42, (tables 25 and 26), it can be seen that both statements are worded in such a way that they reflect a definitely negative image of those motivated by money, Statement 28 suggesting that they are "not very reliable", while Statement 42 suggests that such people are irresponsible. It can be seen in Table 25 that the over-all percentages of managers who agree with Statement 28 are generally low for both groups. For this statement, the percentages vary from a low of 3.3% to a high of only 37.6%. For Statement 42, the over-all range of agreement is 8.2% to 52.9%, indicating an over-all level of agreement which is higher for this statement than for Statement 28. In terms of over-all agreement then, fewer numbers of managers are of the opinion that those motivated by money are not very reliable than they are with the notion that money-minded people are less responsible than others.

It can be seen, however, that on both Statements 28 and 42, French Canadian managers are in much more agreement, the trend of difference across levels being a significant one for both statements. For Statement 28, the percentages of French Canadians who agree with the statement are larger in thirteen of the fifteen comparisons, and of these thirteen instances, eleven are larger by significant amounts. Worth noting also with regard to statement 28 is the fact that eight of the French Canadian percentages are above 25% (with five in the 30's), while for English Canadians, the percentage reaches this level in only one case (with none in the 30's). For French Canadians, only three percentages are below 15%, while in contrast, the percentages for English Canadians fall below 15% in a total of nine cases, (with four below 10%). For Statement 42, the percentages of French Canadians who endorse the statement are larger than those of English Canadians in fourteen cases, and every one is significantly different. For French Canadian managers, the majority (50% or over) agree with the statement in four cases, while none of the English Canadian percentages reach this level of agreement. In nine cases, the percentages of French Canadians who agree are between thirty and fifty percent, while only two fall below 20%. For English Canadian managers, on the other hand, only three percentages are above 30%, none reach the 40% level, and in fact, seven are below 20% (three percentages, all of them at level 3, are below 10%).

It is clear from the results of these two statements, then, that a much larger number of French Canadians than English Canadians consider those who pursue money to be unreliable and irresponsible, the difference

in views of the two ethnic groups, being very sharp with respect to these opinions.

Turning to Statements 49 and 59, it can be seen in Tables 27 and 28, that both of these statements deal with the association of honesty or dishonesty with the pursuit of monetary gain. The over-all percentages of agreement vary widely for the total management group. Statement 49, with the percentages ranging from 0% to 63.3%, indicating a rather wide range of opinion with respect to the difficulty of the rich man (in comparison to the poor man) to remain honest. The general level of agreement with Statement 59 tends to be much higher, with the range going from a low of 67.1% to a high of 100%, and with most of the percentages falling within the 70% to 90% range. Thus, there is a very high general agreement among the managers of both groups that people motivated by money are as honest as most other people.

Contrasting the general level of agreement on Statement 59, with the general level on Statement 28, inspection of the percentages of the two statements indicates that very likely the same managers who agreed that those who seek money are as honest as most people, (Statement 59) were those who disagreed that money-seekers are not very reliable. It can be seen that many of the percentages for Statement 59, if added to those of Statement 28 total 100% or close to 100%, indicating that for both ethnic groups, the tendency is to agree that those who seek money are as honest and as reliable as others.

However, on both Statements 49 and 59, the differences between the two ethnic groups are sharp. On Statement 49, thirteen of the fifteen level comparisons show the French Canadian group to be in more agreement than is the English Canadian group with the notion that the rich have more difficulty than the poor to remain honest (with English Canadians showing higher agreement in two cases). Eleven of these thirteen differences, in the direction of French Canadians showing greater agreement with the statement, are significantly large (while in the two instances where English Canadians agree more than do French Canadians, the difference is not statistically significant). For the French Canadian groups, five percentages indicate that a majority or close to a majority (close to 50% or more) of members of this ethnic group concur with the statement, and in only two cases do the percentages fall below 20% (in one case, Company 4, level 3, it is 0%). For the English Canadian groups, none of the percentages reach the majority level. In fact, for managers of this ethnic group, the highest percentage is 38.3%, and eight of the percentages of those who agree fall below 25%, (as is the case with the French Canadian group, one percentage falls below 10%). With regard to Statement 59, English Canadians much more than French Canadians agree that those who are motivated by money are as honest as most other people. In ten cases, the percentages of English Canadians who concur are larger by statistically significant amounts. In fact, most of the percentages fall within the 80% to 90% range and only three are in the 70's. For the French Canadian groups the percentages of agreement tend to be high, but not as high as

those of English Canadians. For the former group, one percentage is 100%, but nine of them fall below 80%, and four are in the 60's. These results show that the French Canadian group tends much more than do English Canadians to have a negative image of the rich man with a much larger number of French Canadians associating wealth with dishonesty and poverty with honesty.

Statement 22 again specifies a relationship between mercenary motives and a moral quality, this time, selfishness. The percentages shown in Table 29 indicate that the over-all endorsement of this statement could be described as moderately strong for both groups (though much less than for statement 59), with the percentages ranging from a low of 32.7% to a high of 67.6%, with most of them falling within the 40% to 50% range. Thus, managers of both ethnic groups show a moderate amount of agreement that selfishness is a characteristic of mercenary individuals. But the fact that more French Canadian managers are of this opinion than are English Canadians is demonstrated by a contrast of the percentages of agreement between the two groups. Of the thirteen instances in which French Canadians show higher agreement, their percentages are larger than those of the English Canadian group by a statistically significant amount in nine cases, (in the two cases in which the English Canadian percentages are higher, the differences are not significant). Worth noting also is the fact that at eleven of the fifteen levels, the majority or close to the majority of French Canadians concur with the statement, while in no case does the English Canadian group reach the 50% level of agreement. For the French Canadian group, the lowest percentage is 33.3%, with only two percentages

within the 30% to 40% range, while for the English Canadian group, the lowest percentage is 32.7%, but four other percentages are below 40%. Thus, the trend of opinion is stronger among the French Canadian management group that selfishness is a trait of those motivated by financial gain.

Taking the results of the scale as a whole many more French Canadians feel that the pursuit of wealth is associated with basically undesirable characteristics of people such as dishonesty, unreliability, irresponsibility and selfishness. They hold a much more negative image of those who seek financial gain, and thus, one could infer, they feel much more strongly than do their English Canadian colleagues, that money corrupts and degrades. The important implication of these data is that from the organization's point of view, the pursuit of money is the "raison d'être" of business organizations, and the pursuit of private financial gain by its members is directly encouraged and fostered by an enterprise. This can be seen not only in the careful and expert attention given by organizations to the effectiveness of their salary structure, but also in the institution of profit-sharing plans in which the basic principle is the notion that since both the organization and the individual seek wealth, it is considered to be mutually beneficial to institute a "sharing arrangement" which provides a financial payoff for both. Thus the pursuit of profit by the enterprise and private gain by the individual are seen as closely interrelated aims in the business organizations. In effect then, French Canadian managers find themselves centrally involved in a mission of which they disapprove (to a much

greater extent than do English Canadian managers). One is safe in concluding from this pattern of findings not only that French Canadians are in comparatively strong conflict with the primary goals of industrial organizations, but also, they most surely experience some degree of self-devaluation, since they are caught up in a life activity which they consider to some extent, at least, basically immoral or degrading, a factor which might well sharpen and deepen the comparative conflict they feel.

The relatively negative image of money which French Canadians hold could well be a basic contributing factor to the conflict they perceive between organizational life and the goals of importance to them in other realms of life, such as family, society and self-identity. The French Canadian attitude toward those who value financial gain is one of suspicion, in short, one must "beware" of people who value financial gain highly, since these people have little or no concern for the fundamentally important mission in life of enhancing the welfare of the family, of society and the worth of the individual. Because of this attitude, the French Canadian is likely to react negatively to any overt manifestation of mercenary interest on the part of individuals or organizations. To the English Canadian, imbued with the protestant ethic, the pursuit of financial gain is implicitly viewed as worthy and honorable when not carried to the extreme of greed since it is a completely legitimate and valid form of recognition for fulfillment and achievement in life.

Thus, for English Canadians the accumulation of wealth is congruent with, and for French Canadians at odds with, the basic incentive system in

industry. To the latter, industrial organizations have, in effect, set themselves apart from society, and the maximization of profit as an exclusive end contributes nothing to the enhancement and development of the most important institution of society. This essentially negative attitude toward the pursuit of money is undoubtedly also a source of his tendency to give less priority to the economic goals of an enterprise than do his English Canadian counterparts in management. It could indeed account for the relative alienation of the lower management French Canadian who views with strong disfavour the central concern of both the English Canadian and French Canadian ethnic groups at higher management levels for the economic ends of business. In the views of the researchers, the French Canadian culture, in fact, generates a negative attitude toward the managerial role in that it fosters a deep, culture-based guilt in those who fulfill this role in industry. To the French Canadian culture, this role is viewed as in essence an economic one, in which crucial considerations for the development of the family, the individual and society are subordinated to financial gain. The French Canadian manager must feel then that his role is fundamentally incongruent with the values of his own culture, a role which for him is debasing. Once again, hypothesis III is strongly supported by these results.

Before concluding the discussion of this scale, a word about inter-level comparisons is in order. For the French Canadian group, the mean score of those at the first level of management was found to be 5.9 (± 1.8), for the middle management level it was 6.6 (± 1.9), while the mean for the higher level was 6.8 (± 1.7). For the English Canadian management

groups the mean scores were, for the lower, middle and higher level respectively 6.9 (σ 1.8), 7.6 (σ 1.6), and 7.9 (σ 1.3). This pattern of findings indicates that English Canadian managers at successively higher levels of management show a strong trend of greater compatibility between their personal values and the demands of their managerial roles with regard to the pursuit of gain. For the French Canadian group, the trend toward greater compatibility at successively higher levels is also evident, but the major difference is between the lower and middle levels of management. The relevance of these findings will be made explicit in the concluding summary of this chapter.

(E) Ethnic Identity

Let us turn now to a consideration of Ethnic Identity, the final dimension to be dealt with in the Goal Conflict section of this chapter. The reader will recall that this dimension is concerned with attitudes toward the loss of cultural identity of French Canadians in their roles as managers of large industrial organizations. As in the analysis of the Personal Gain dimension, the statements are analyzed separately, since no scale was derived. The three statements to be considered are 15, 24 and 33, reproduced below:

Statement 15: "The more a French Canadian gets ahead in a big English Canadian company, the more he loses his language."

Statement 24: "Most French Canadians who have obtained several promotions in large English Canadian companies have to protect English Canadian interests at the expense of those of French Canadians."

Statement 33: "The French Canadians who have succeeded in large companies are, in fact, more 'English' than 'French'."

The comparisons of percentage agreement between the two ethnic groups on these three statements are shown in Tables 32, 33 and 34 respectively. Considering Statement 15 first, the reader will notice in Table 32 that the percentages of those who agree with this statement concerning the French Canadian's loss of his language in a large company are fairly high for managers of both ethnic groups. Though the range of percentages is extremely broad (0% - 85.7%), most of them (nineteen) are within the 40% to 60% range, with seven above the 50% level, and only four being below 40%. Thus, a fairly large number of managers of both ethnic groups agree that the more a French Canadian succeeds in an organization, the more he loses his language.

A comparison over all companies and levels between the percentages of French Canadians and English Canadians who endorse the statement shows that there is no over-all significant trend of agreement in either direction (a significant trend would require that twelve of the fifteen differences be in the same direction). However, it is worth noting that when one considers the percentage differences between the two groups at the middle and higher levels of management only, a significant trend is indicated, with English Canadian managers in eight of these nine cases showing greater endorsement of the statement. In fact, in the case of the Companies 2-9 comparison at the highest level of management, no less than 85.7% of English Canadian managers in Company 9 (the purely Anglo-Saxon industrial setting) agree with the statement, while only 52.9% of French Canadians at the same level in Company 2 (the purely French Canadian Company), endorse the statement. In Company 4, again at the

Table 4.32

Percentage (%) of people who agree with the item:

"The more a French Canadian gets ahead in a big English Canadian company, the more he loses his language."

QUEST.: 03 Item : 15		L 1		L 2		L 3	
C 1	FC	(108)	35.2 %	(34)	35.3 %		
C 1	EC	(81)	40.7 %	(86)	50.0 %		
C 3	FC	(128)	47.7 %	(80)	46.3 % *		
C 3	EC	(86)	50.0 %	(73)	56.2 %		
C 10	FC	(73)	52.1 %	(21)	33.3 %		
C 10	EC	(126)	50.7 %	(91)	55.0 %		
C 4	FC	(153)	64.1 %	(112)	52.7 %	(6)	0.0%*
C 4	EC	(150)	60.0 %	(172)	44.7 %	(61)	41.0%
C 5	FC	(148)	45.3 %	(44)	59.1 %		
C 5	EC	(255)	43.9 %	(94)	60.7 %		
C 2	FC	(307)	62.9 %	(246)	62.7 %	(17)	52.9%
C 9	EC	(81)	64.3 %	(111)	73.8 %	(28)	85.7%
C 1, 3, 10, 5	FC	-	-	-	-	(20)	45.0%
C 1, 3, 10, 5	EC	-	-	-	-	(103)	47.5%

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .13 level of confidence.

Table 4.33

Percentage (%) of people who agree with the item:

"Most French Canadians who have obtained several promotions in large English Canadian companies have to protect English Canadian interests at the expense of those of French Canadians."

QUEST.: 03 Item : 24		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(108)	34.3%*	(34)	8.8%		
C ₁	EC	(81)	18.5%	(85)	11.7%		
C ₃	FC	(127)	39.4%*	(79)	33.0%*		
C ₃	EC	(85)	15.4%	(73)	10.9%		
C ₁₀	FC	(71)	42.3%*	(21)	33.3%*		
C ₁₀	EC	(126)	20.7%	(91)	11.0%		
C ₄	FC	(153)	45.8%*	(111)	30.6%*	(6)	0.0%
C ₄	EC	(150)	18.0%	(172)	8.7	(60)	6.7%
C ₅	FC	(148)	42.6%*	(44)	29.6%*		
C ₅	EC	(255)	14.1%	(93)	10.9%		
C ₂	FC	(305)	63.0%*	(246)	57.8%*	(17)	58.8%*
C ₉	EC	(80)	21.3%	(111)	15.3%	(28)	21.4%
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	—	—	—	—	(20)	5.0%
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC	—	—	—	—	(103)	7.8%

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .13 level of confidence.

Table 4.34

Percentage (%) of people who agree with the item:

"The French Canadians who have succeeded in large companies are, in fact, more 'English' than 'French'."

QUEST.: 03 Item : 33		L ₁		L ₂		L ₃	
C ₁	FC	(107)	39.3%*	(34)	41.1%*		
C ₁	EC	(80)	23.9%	(86)	18.6%		
C ₃	FC	(127)	48.8%*	(80)	41.4%*		
C ₃	EC	(85)	21.2%	(73)	20.5%		
C ₁₀	FC	(74)	52.8%*	(21)	61.8%*		
C ₁₀	EC	(125)	29.6%	(91)	24.2%		
C ₄	FC	(153)	56.2%*	(111)	42.3%*	(6)	0.0%*
C ₄	EC	(149)	28.2%	(172)	19.2%	(61)	16.4%
C ₅	FC	(149)	48.9%*	(44)	47.7%**		
C ₅	EC	(254)	24.1%	(94)	27.7%		
C ₂	FC	(307)	58.6%*	(247)	50.6%*	(17)	58.8%*
C ₉	EC	(81)	20.9%	(112)	34.0%	(28)	21.4%
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	FC	—	—	—	—	(20)	30.0%
C _{1, 3, 10, 5}	EC					(103)	27.2%

* Indicates a statistically significant difference at the .13 level of confidence.

higher management level, 41% of English Canadians agree with the statement, while 0% of French Canadians do.

This is indeed an interesting pattern of results, since it indicates that at these middle and higher levels, English Canadians seem, as a group, to be more in agreement about the fact that French Canadians are not able to use their language to the fullest degree in industry, than are French Canadians themselves. To the researchers, these results reflect a distinct tendency among English Canadians at higher levels of management to attribute the problems of communication and rapport between themselves and their French Canadian colleagues to the fact that French Canadians are forced to converse in their English language. In short, results seem to show not only that a large number of French Canadians and English Canadians tend to define this problem largely in terms of language, but at middle and top levels of management, more English Canadians than French Canadians are of the opinion that French Canadians sacrifice their language in progressing within a large company.

This interpretation of the results is given credence when one considers the major "push" among English Canadians in industry in the Province of Quebec to learn the French language. An additional indication that English Canadians believe that the solution to the problem of relations between the two groups in industry is bilingualism. In brief, English Canadians tend to view the problem of relations between the two groups in a bicultural setting as being primarily one of language. While French Canadians do concur regarding the loss of their language, they are, at all but the lowest

level of management, in much less agreement about it than are their English Canadian colleagues. That the problem of lack of rapport between the two groups in industry is a bicultural rather than a language problem has already been made explicit in the discussion of the implications of the research for the "Comparison of Goals" section of this chapter. Further evidence for this important interpretive point will be seen in the analysis of the two remaining "Ethnic Identity" statements.

Turning next to Statement 24, it can be seen in Table 33 that there is a wide over-all range of percentage agreement with this statement concerning the protection of English Canadian interests on the part of French Canadians. The lowest percentage is 0%, while the highest is 63%, with a wide scattering of percentage agreement across companies and levels. What is striking about the findings is the significant trend of difference between the two ethnic groups in their endorsement of this statement. French Canadians show larger percentages of agreement in twelve of the fifteen level comparisons and in all of these twelve instances, the percentages of French Canadians who agree with the statement are larger by a significant amount. These large differences are found at all levels in the various companies. For the French Canadian group, eleven percentages are above 30% (one going as high as the sixties), while for English Canadians, none of the percentages are above 30%. To the French Canadian group, only three percentages fall below 20% (all below 10%), while in contrast, twelve English Canadian percentages fall below 20% (with only three below 10%). In fact, in two instances, there are almost four times as many French Canadian as English Canadian managers

who agree with the statement. In eight other instances, there are three times as many French Canadians as English Canadians who agree, and in two other instances, there are twice or almost twice as many French Canadians who are in agreement.

The two ethnic groups are thus extremely far apart in their views of the necessity of French Canadians to protect English Canadian interests to the detriment of their own, as a "price" for promotion in an organization. The results indicate that many more French Canadians than English Canadians are of the opinion that the price of advancement for the French Canadian in a bicultural organization is the distinct subordination of French Canadian interests, and that in fact, the French Canadian must give up a part of his ethnic allegiance and identity in the workplace. It is not difficult to imagine that communication barriers between the two ethnic groups would be created by a discrepancy as large as this on such a basic issue, indicating a profound lack of understanding on the part of the English Canadians with regard to this problem.

Statement 33 is the final one to be considered of the grouping of three statements in the "Ethnic Identity" dimension. Inspection of the percentages in Table 34 indicates that there is a rather wide over-all dispersion of percentages for both ethnic groups. The percentages range from a low of 0% to a high of 61.8%. It can also be seen that the differences between the two groups are significant across companies and levels, with French Canadians showing much stronger agreement with the statement at

fourteen of the fifteen comparisons (and English Canadian percentages exceeding those of French Canadians in two instances). It should also be noted that in all twelve of these instances, the percentage of French Canadians who endorse the statement is greater by a large and significant amount. Twelve of the percentages are above 40% for French Canadians (with one in the sixties), while for English Canadians, none of the percentages reach the 40% level, (only one falls in the thirties). For French Canadians, only two percentages are below 30%, while for English Canadians, fourteen are below 30%. In fact, in nine instances, there are more than twice as many French Canadians as English Canadians who endorse the statement and in four other cases, discrepancies are not far from twice as many.

These results show that a much larger percentage of French Canadians than English Canadians feel that the price of success in a bicultural setting is Anglicization, a strong fear among French Canadians that, as pointed out previously in the discussion of the implications of the "Comparison of Goals" section of this chapter, lies at the very source of problems of rapport between management groups of the two cultures. In contrasting the results of the three statements, the French Canadian group is expressing the view that the problem is at least as much, if not more, one of biculturalism than of bilingualism, while the English Canadian group is expressing the opinion that the problem is essentially one of bilingualism and not of biculturalism.

It is of interest to note the patterns of agreement with the three statements across organizational levels. For Statement 1b, no really large

differences in percentage occur between levels for the French Canadian group, although for the English Canadian group, there is a slight tendency for larger numbers of managers to agree at successively higher levels. In short, slightly larger numbers of English Canadians at higher than at lower levels, tend to agree that French Canadians lose their language as they are promoted.

With respect to Statement 24, it is interesting to note that the percentage of French Canadians who agree with the statement drops quite sharply between levels 1 and 2 and very dramatically from level 2 to level 3 (the exception is company 2, but the responses of managers in this organization are not of direct interest for this particular comparison, because it is a purely French Canadian company and not in immediate contact with the problems of a bicultural organization. The same would apply to Company 9 because of its purely English Canadian management force). For the French Canadian group there are, in fact, hardly any managers who agree with the statement at the higher level of management. It can be seen that between levels 1 and 2, the drop in percentage of French Canadians who agree is 27.5% for Company 1, a 6.4% drop for Company 3, a 9.0% drop for Company 10, a 15.2% drop for Company 4, and a drop of 13% for Company 5. In short, there is a definite tendency for fewer French Canadian managers at successively higher management levels to agree that French Canadians who are promoted are required to protect English Canadian interests at the expense of their own. Worth noting also is the slight tendency for fewer English Canadians to agree with the statement at successively higher management levels, but the

tendency is less strong for the English Canadian than for the French Canadian ethnic groups.

Finally, in reference to Statement 33, the percentage of French Canadians who agree with this statement does not drop significantly from level 1 to level 2, but there is a sharp drop between the middle and higher level, particularly in Company 4 where the percentage drops from 42.3% to 0.0% from level 2 to level 3.

However, it is of interest to note that even at level 3, 30% of managers in the combined companies do agree that French Canadians do become anglicized in bicultural business organizations. The relevance and importance of these inter-level patterns of agreement will become clear in the concluding comments of this chapter.

To recapitulate the major findings for the "Goal Conflict" Section of this chapter, it has been shown with striking consistency that the perspectives of the two ethnic groups with regard to the compatibility between the aims of industrial organizations and those of personal value and significance to them in other realms of life, differ widely indeed. In all of the dimensions covered in this section, French Canadians expressed considerably more role conflict than did English Canadians, being much more inclined to view the basic economic function of industry to be in opposition to the attainment of a normal family life, and to the fulfillment of one's obligations to society. In addition, the pursuit of industrial goals engenders in him a feeling of loss of personal dignity and stature as a

human being, a feeling of self-abasement (in his personal reaction to the predominantly mercenary aims of business), and a strong impression that in order to achieve career success, he must sacrifice his allegiance to, and lose his identity with, his own culture which is imbued with the same social-humanitarian values. These findings are consistent then with those presented earlier in the chapter, in the analysis of the relative value managers of both ethnic groups attached to the goals of business organizations. The French Canadian manager, particularly those at lower levels of the hierarchy, viewed economic goals with much less favour than did his English Canadian colleague, and was much more strongly inclined to value the importance of the social and humanitarian aspects of organizational functioning.

It would appear that the achievement of mutual compatibility and adaptation between the requirements of business organizations and the needs and values of the individual, a challenging problem in any industrial society, may be rendered particularly difficult within the Canadian industrial system, because many more French Canadians than English Canadians are of the opinion that business requirements and individual pursuits, are essentially incompatible. The research findings of both sections of this chapter strongly suggest that the French Canadian has not basically identified with the primary function of business organizations in industrial society. Since he wishes to avoid deep involvement in industrial activity (for reasons already outlined in detail, involvement beyond his own needs for economic security), he does not derive basic satisfaction from the

performance of his role as a manager in a business enterprise. This feeling is much more pervasive among French Canadians low in the hierarchy than among those at higher levels, but it is, at all hierarchical levels, more widespread a feeling among French Canadians than among English Canadians. The higher-echelon manager, whose primary obligation is to further the economic cause of the enterprise, is not the kind of person the French Canadian really wants to be (as shown in the results for Scale G). It might be well to point out that this feeling is very likely not a conscious rejection of the managerial role, but the feeling nevertheless runs strong and deep. At the lower management level, the French Canadian is relatively alone and alienated, largely left out of the dynamic interplay of the management communication net. This problem of perceived isolation on the part of the French Canadian is compounded by the fact that (as seen in the "Ethnic Identity" results), the English Canadian does not appear to sense that this isolation results from anything more than a language barrier. In fact, these very factors actually prevent him, in his view, from being the kind of person he wants to be.

To contrast the English Canadian and French Canadian manager on the basis of the way in which they relate themselves to the business organization, it is safe to say that the English Canadian manager to a much greater degree has internalized the goals of the organization. He has made the aims and aspirations of the organizations a part of his own self-concept, and any set-back in the progress of that organization would at the same time be a set-back for him personally. His gratification, in

short, derives more directly from the performance of his managerial function, from his personal contribution to the organization's progress, than from any pay-off external to that role. The French Canadian, on the other hand, sees the performance of his managerial role much more as a means to an end, in short, as a form of instrumental satisfaction rather than a source of intrinsic satisfaction. His sources of gratification tend to be external to the organization and to his role within it. Furthermore, the prospect of making the philosophy of the organization his own only serves to arouse and increase in him the fear of anglicization and depersonalization which organizational demands tend to press upon him. Thus, for him, there is a very limited "value sharing" with the organization, nor does he feel there should be any. He tends to feel that he is a means to economic ends, ends not really incorporated into his value system.

While industrial organizations do not require the marriage of the individual to the system, nor demand all of the individual's personality, they do require a substantial degree of communality of their values and aims with those of their members, a degree of communality which transcends the differential loyalties of cultures and serves to bind the organization together. If bicultural organizations are to survive and progress in Canada, it is imperative, to our way of thinking, that this gap be bridged, an achievement which can only be realized when some active steps are taken to create a climate within which the French Canadian can find himself, one in which he can develop, in time, an intrinsic interest in participating in the realization of industrial ventures. This can only be done if he can

free himself from the internal constraints that these conflicts, previously described, engender.

Before discussing ways in which this might best be accomplished, one final point is worth noting: the comparison of managers at successively higher organizational levels with respect to the degree of compatibility they express between organizational objectives and personal aims in the five realms dealt with (Family, Individual, Society, etc.). With the exception of Scale F, the higher the level in the hierarchy, the greater the compatibility (and the less the conflict) perceived by managers of both ethnic groups. This result could be expected, since without a relatively strong measure of agreement with the aims of the organization at higher echelons of authority, that organization could not long survive. Yet even at these higher levels, it was seen that differences between the two ethnic groups, in their concurrence with organizational aims, remained rather large. It should also be noted that, with respect to attitudes toward "Ethnic Identity", many more English Canadians at higher levels of management than at lower levels, believe that French Canadians who advance in business lose their language. Of special significance with respect to this same dimension is the fact that fewer French Canadians at higher than at lower levels believe that the French Canadian manager must protect English Canadian interests, and fewer at the higher than at the middle levels believe that the French Canadian becomes anglicized when promoted in a business organization. These findings suggest that some French Canadians appear to have overcome this basic fear of assimilation, a

factor which must be taken into account when considering solutions to this problem.

The picture painted here might seem pessimistic in outlook to many with regard to the future of Canada as a bicultural industrial nation. Yet it was not meant to be anything more than an effort to bring into sharper perspective a potentially explosive problem, one that is solvable, but can easily be misconstrued, in our opinion, as we shall attempt to bring out in the discussion which follows.

The fact that the lower echelon French Canadian does not now have as economic-oriented an outlook toward the objectives of business as have English Canadian managers, is something that has been recognized by industry. Canadian business organizations today are acutely aware of the dearth of French Canadians in higher management positions, and have naturally attempted to discover the reason for it. One factor which has been suggested as the chief cause for this significant shortage is the lower level of education attained by the average French Canadian in comparison to his English Canadian colleague, a factor which has, it is proposed, essentially disqualified many otherwise prime candidates among the French Canadian groups for middle and high level posts in Canadian industry. This proposed cause of the problem is, in the researchers' opinions, a highly questionable one, since, (as clearly revealed in chapter II, pages 48 to 51), no significant trend of differences were found in educational level between the French and English Canadian management groups in the seven major Canadian corporations covered in

this study. Another causal factor proposed has been the contention that the type of educational system to which French Canadians have been exposed is essentially different from that of English Canadians, a point with which we would agree. The French Canadian educational system, it is said, prepares members of this ethnic group for professional or theological careers, rather than for the demands of business.

For either of these two invoked reasons, the hope has been, in most business organizations, that the French Canadian could compensate for this lack of education through management training. It was expected that the French Canadian could eventually identify more closely with the organization's mission and adopt the competitive, economic views so characteristic of the English Canadian through the use of group discussion, seminar or problem-solving sessions, involving English Canadians and French Canadians together in these groups. The assumption here, implicit or explicit, was that, as a result of this ethnic interaction, the English Canadian's business know-how would, in some way, "rub off" on the French Canadian. Yet, when one considers the amount of such training which has been conducted, and the enormous sums of money expended to make this type of training available to large numbers of lower-echelon French Canadians in business, it is rather surprising that the results have not been more fruitful than they have been. It is certainly puzzling at first glance that despite the many training programs in current (and past) use which have mixed lower-echelon French Canadians and English Canadians in organized sessions, the results have been rather unimpressive, at least

in terms of reorienting his outlook and approach to organizational problems. In our opinion, this dedication to programmatic training on the part of Canadian business organizations by now ought to have, but apparently has not, resulted in substantial numbers of French Canadians moving up into more senior management posts. The obvious question is: if not, why not?

As the results of this study clearly indicate, invoking discriminatory practices as the main cause of this state of affairs, as many would contend, is not only an oversimplified conclusion but in fact an erroneous one. We have seen that French Canadians, as a cultural group, are not ready to assume the responsibilities of top management positions because they are not sufficiently economic-oriented. They do not basically identify with the primary goals of business organizations because the role conflicts which the organizational climate engenders create powerful forces of resistance to change that cannot be broken. Others, in recognizing that French Canadians, as an ethnic group, have not changed sufficiently, suggest that until the French Canadian educational system changes, one should not expect too much from training. The implicit assumption here is that, at present, French Canadians are not very changeable because they were not properly educated, and obviously implies that one must wait until the next generation. Along the same lines, others believe that a critical evaluation of the results of management training is premature, suggesting that a cultural change of this nature is a long-term process. In both instances, this type of

reasoning, in a way, begs the issue, since it merely states that French Canadians have not changed because they are not presently changeable, without really considering the possibility that the major flaw could lie in the manner in which the management development process is utilized. It is our contention that French Canadian managers have not changed enough because management training programs in industry have not provided the proper climate to induce change in the desired direction. They have not been aimed at dealing with the role conflicts that the French Canadian manager experiences. They have, instead, created a situation whereby all of the forces at play act to further increase the French Canadian's normal resistance to change by intensifying these role conflicts previously described, not meeting them head on.

A few organizations, however, have recognized the limited success of such training and have attributed the ineffectiveness of these training and development programs to the problem of language. Specifically, the opinion has been that the French Canadian cannot meaningfully interact with others and thus have as much opportunity to develop, to better understand and appreciate another value system, or in short, to broaden this perspective with regard to organizational functioning, when he is in a situation where he is not able to use his mother tongue, since the majority of English Canadians cannot speak French well enough to carry on a normal conversation in this language. The remedy applied to ameliorate the situation has usually been to institute unilingual, unicultural training programs in which French Canadians are placed in training groups with other lower-level members of their own ethnic group.

This attempted solution, though perhaps yielding some benefits, since the French Canadian is not inhibited by the use of a second language, is less than likely to effect a major change in the French Canadian for three reasons. First, it does not allow him to expose himself to a different viewpoint or frame of reference which he would have, had he been in the presence of English Canadian managers. Secondly, it does not provide him with the necessary directed guidance and support from those holding more responsible positions. Indeed, the French Canadian is faced with the problem of undergoing, as we have seen, a rather dramatic change in his values, an obstacle which faces his English Canadian colleague to a strikingly lesser degree. As a result, he needs more than "average" guidance to change his value system. In short, this unicultural training strategy lacks the resource person or persons so necessary for the development of new insights conducive to change among lower echelon French Canadian management personnel. Finally, the most important criticism which can be levelled at this solution is the fact that, while language does impose a barrier to the exchange of ideas and exploration of issues in training sessions, it is not the major obstacle, since, in the view of the researchers, the problem is much more one of biculturalism than of bilingualism, involving a clash of differing values between two ethnic groups rather than a lack of rapport due to this language barrier.

That is, the major obstacle to value change on the part of the French Canadian is his distinct impression that the training session itself is a vehicle of exploitation by higher management people and that the aim

is to make him and his colleagues in these sessions, whether they be bicultural or unicultural, bilingual or unilingual, "think English" and thereby "become English" just as they have "purportedly" done to his French Canadian superiors. To him, in short, management training sessions pose the danger of assimilation and accompanying sacrifice of his cultural identity, even though the intended aim may have been to integrate him into the management team, to make him "think top management", whether it be English or French. It is precisely this fear of losing one's cultural identity that present management development programs do not cope with.

Thus far in the discussion, we have pointed out that the major obstacle to effective training is the French Canadian's strong fear of being anglicized, that is, of losing his ethnic identity. Consequently, he is not at all psychologically prepared for change, a change which is nevertheless imperative if he is to become a successfully-integrated member of middle and top management. The mixing of French Canadians and English Canadians in training sessions has serious drawbacks because it can only serve to increase rather than to alleviate this fear, especially in view of the fact that the added barrier of language is omnipresent.

Those that have separated the two ethnic groups for training purposes, assuming that the problem is due primarily to the language barrier, have adopted a strategy that also has negative results. The fear of assimilation in this unicultural situation would naturally persist because, since a majority of lower-level French Canadians possess this

fear, there is nothing in the training process to counteract it. In addition, it provides no real opportunity for the French Canadian to dispassionately examine and positively evaluate the economic viewpoint of business. This viewpoint could obviously not be presented to him by other French Canadians at his own level since it just isn't an integral part of their value system, as we have seen. Finally, this type of training session, involving managers only at one level in the organization, obviates the possibility of higher level support, which we have seen, the lower echelon French Canadian needs because of the much greater value change required of him than of his English Canadian counterpart.

The conclusion must be then that the only person who can play a truly effective role in fostering change in the lower echelon French Canadian is the French Canadian at higher echelons in the organization. Indeed, this latter person is the only one capable of overcoming the lower-level French Canadian's fear of anglicization because he is obviously the only one who can communicate to the French Canadian at the subordinate level the fact that it is possible to change values in the direction of adopting an essentially economic view of business without "becoming" an English Canadian. He is the only one who can, through a face-to-face confrontation of the problem, dispel in the minds of lower-level French Canadians the notion or feeling that he is not a French Canadian, that he is a "traitor", "un vendu" to the French Canadian cause.

In so doing, he will concomitantly be persuading them that the

economic viewpoint is essential to successful performance in more responsible positions in industry, irrespective of one's ethnic membership. Thus, a new, different and unbiased perspective is provided the lower-level French Canadian (a perspective he could not get from his French Canadian or English Canadian peers).

Finally, the guidance which the lower-level French Canadian so badly needs in order to change and grow will thus be provided through the medium of this fruitful exchange. Having successfully broken the emotional barrier that exists between them and French Canadian higher-level managers, the lower-level French Canadian will no longer feel isolated and the higher-level French Canadian, in face-to-face problem solving sessions with them, can provide the warm and sympathetic supportive role that is so badly needed for this change to take place. He is indeed in a better position to know better than anyone else just what this change can mean to a French Canadian from an emotional standpoint, being himself a Canadian of French origin. In short, he can help the French Canadian lower-level manager to face his conflicts and strive to solve them in a constructive manner. It should be recalled, however, that the higher echelon French Canadian manager is not a "conflict-free" individual either. He generally manifests more conflict than his English Canadian counterpart. However, the higher level of rapport existing between the two ethnic groups at these higher echelons should constitute a favorable climate for an open and frank discussion of these problems.

To summarize, it is the contention of the researchers that

present management development programs in industry do not meet the emotional needs of French Canadians lower in the management hierarchy within a bicultural setting. In fact, these programs can serve to divide management members from each other rather than develop a closely-knit management team. This then could well be the major reason why relatively few French Canadians have gained access to responsible positions in industrial organizations. No one is to blame for this state of affairs. The problem of the French Canadian's extreme difficulty in integrating his efforts with the other members of the organization is an inevitable one due to the inherent characteristics of the situation: members of a culture whose roots are basically agricultural and rural, yet not sufficiently industrialized to mesh comfortably with members of an industrialized society who have learned that the norms must necessarily be economic-oriented if that society is to continue to grow.

Nor should anyone be alarmed by the apparent lack of insight on the part of both ethnic groups in their recent efforts to solve this problem of the shortage of French Canadian managerial talent, by either invoking discrimination practices or incompetence, promoting French Canadians too rapidly, or attempting to install management development programs of the types described above. The problem is an extremely complex one, a problem of a highly emotional nature, a situation in which it is well-nigh impossible to see, so to speak, the forest for the trees since everyone is so deeply involved and affected by it. This, in our opinion, is the heritage of a truly bicultural nation, the presence of a deep

problem of mutual trust and understanding, a problem that offers a tremendous challenge to this nation, but one that can be solved if both parties can only become more fully aware that it is really there, and that it will not go away by itself in time.

